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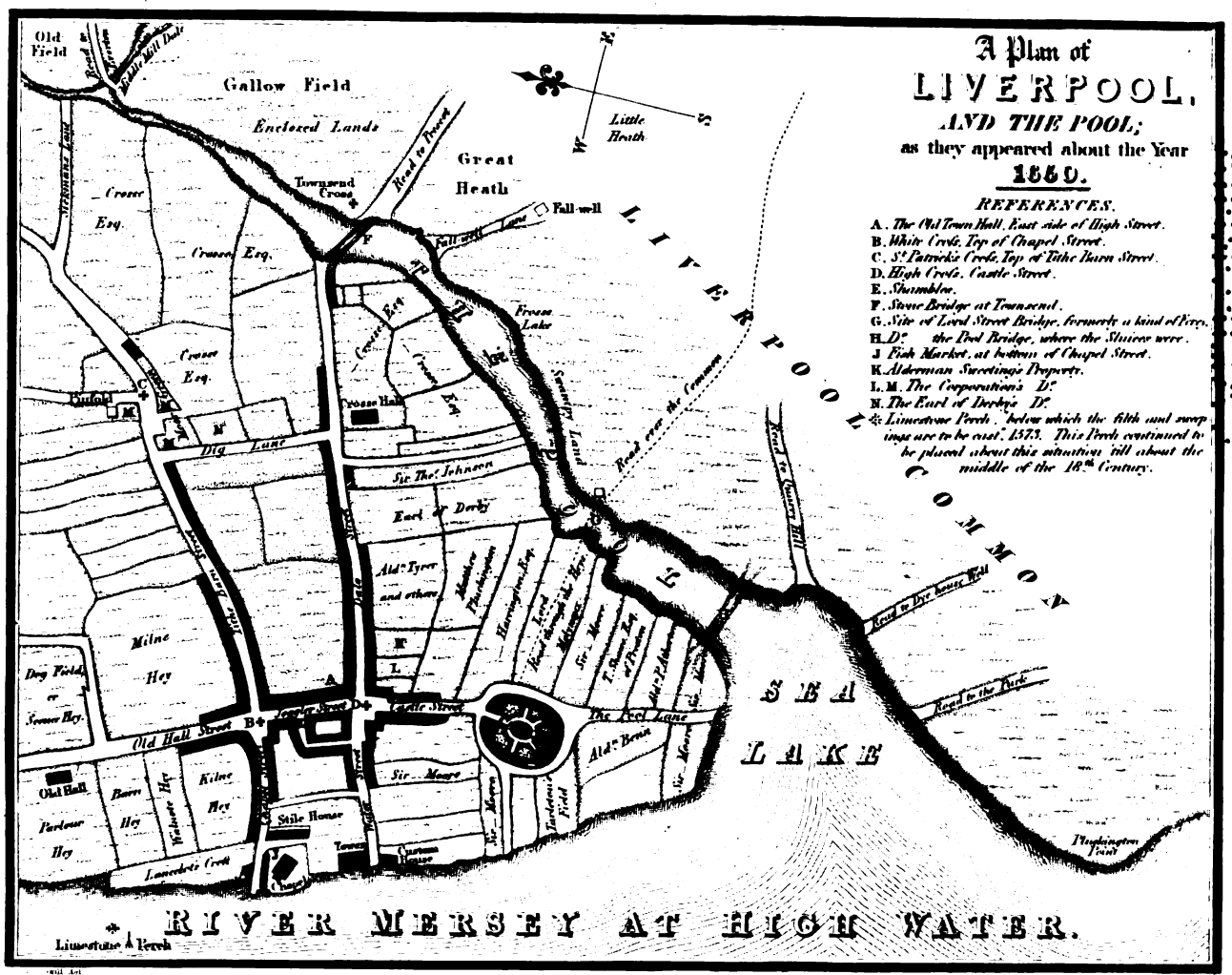

Copied from the Original Drawing, as deposited in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, and from other authentic and original documents, for The Stranger in Liverpool. Published by Thos. Kaye, 1829.

THE

MOORE RENTAL.

EDITED BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following document is a species of Rent Roll raisonné, drawn up by Edward Moore,* of Bank Hall, near Liverpool, and of Old, or Moore Hall, in that town, and intended for the use of his son William, who, however, died before coming

* The *Baronetage*, (1741,) thus treats of the Moore family. "Edward More of More Hall, Lancashire, created a Baronet 1675. This family, More, or de la More, is of great antiquity, having been possessed of More, and Bank Hall, for upwards of twenty generations, as appears, as well by divers ancient deeds remaining in the family, as by the achievements, and inscriptions, engraven on the walls of the said houses. Whereof was Sir William de la More, who was made knight banneret by Edward the Black Prince, at the battle of Poitiers. His descendant, John More of Bank Hall, married Eleanor, youngest daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux of Sephton, in Lancashire, knight, who died 11 Eliz. From him was lineally descended Edward More, son and heir of Col. John More, (who defended Liverpool against King Charles I.,) by a daughter of Rigby, who was to have been created a baronet in the year 1660, but the recepi was not signed till March, 1661–2, and the patent passed not under the great seal until the time before mentioned, (1675.) This Edward More married, first, Mrs. Fenwick, daughter of Sir William Fenwick of Meldon, in Northumberland, (aunt to Sir John Fenwick who suffered in the reign of King William III., by attainder in Parliament,) by whom he had four sons, the two eldest died young, Sir Cleave, his successor, and Thomas, who died s.p. His second

of age. It bears the date of 1667–8. To the kindness of THOMAS MOORE, Esq. the CHETHAM SOCIETY are indebted for this curious volume, which, although known to writers on Liverpool topography for the last thirty years, has never before been printed in an unmutilated state. The Society have further to thank Mr. MOORE for the liberality with which his valuable collections, bearing upon the subject of this MS., have been placed at their disposal.

The Rental of Edward Moore would hardly be intelligible without some notice of the author's father, Colonel John Moore, whose proceedings largely influenced the destiny of his son. There are otherwise many inducements to attempt this biography. It is an extraordinary life, passed in very interesting times; and bearing upon important passages of history, as connected with the rise of Liverpool, this Colonel's actions are very suitable objects for the enquiries of the CHETHAM SOCIETY. Although a regicide, Noble knew nothing of him; and later and more exact writers have not sufficiently been aware that there existed, between 1620 and 1650, many public men of the name of Moore, and that in the Long Parliament alone there were four Mr. Moores, two of whom were afterwards colonels, besides three colonels Moore who were not members. What chiefly attracts the

wife was Mrs. Bloodworth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bloodworth, knight. He had by her a daughter, married to Thomas Whitloe, of Bootle, gent., and a son, Edward, who died young." We may add, that the Moores had been for four centuries and a half the principal landowners of Liverpool when this Rental was written.

imagination, in Colonel John Moore's life, is the poetical justice apparent in its termination. Here is a man, always acting with the dominant party, Puritan, Presbyterian, or Independent; signing, with the majority, protestation, covenant, or engagement; dying when his party were in the full career of success; himself occupying high and apparently lucrative places; and yet leaving his property in more irretrievable ruin than fell even to the lot of those whose estates he had been instrumental in confiscating.

Edward Moore married, about 1595, Katharine, daughter of Hockenhall of Prenton in Wirrall. John, the eldest son, was born before 1600. In 1624, Gregson states, he was made a justice of the peace. His father, Edward, became sheriff of Lancashire 1621, being the first of his family who enjoyed that honour.

Liverpool, in 1623, under the Molyneux interest, returned two Roman Catholics to parliament; in 1625, Lord Strange and Edward Moore sat. In the second parliament of 1625, and in that of 1628, the Stanleys appear wholly to have influenced the returns, and the name of Moore does not appear. They were, however, remarkable men who were elected. Edward Bridgman, of a well known family, proved an active member; Thomas May we conjecture to be the parliamentary historian of that name; Henry Jermyn here began his eccentric career; and Newdigate, brother to Cromwell's judge, and of a family which has since given representatives to Oxford university and to Warwickshire, earned, in his short life, a laudatory epitaph of no common length.

The Moores, notwithstanding their antiquity, possessions, and alliances, lived estranged from the neighbouring gentry. In that lower portion of West Derby of which Liverpool was the principal town, no protestant magistrate resided, excepting the one at Bank Hall. Martindale states this fact, (1644,) and adds, that the sea coast parishes "were almost wholly papists," especially as to the gentry. The names of the landowners confirm this, Molyneux, Blundell, Norris, Harrington, Fazakerley, &c.; and so it remained seventy years later, as Cousin's list shows. Mr. Parkinson, in a note to Martindale's life, affirms that this state of things continues to the present day. Now, though the hunting of recusants might be very profitable, it condemned the justice who followed it, in this part of West Derby, from 1624 to 1640, to a life of complete isolation from his fellows. The Star Chamber served as the instrument of oppression; and Rushworth gives two instances in the neighbourhood of Liverpool of great tyranny, the one affecting that gallant William Blundell, of Crosby, who distinguished himself at Lathom, the other concerning Sir William Norris,* of Speke, (1631). This reckless soldier felt indignant that Edward Moore should require from the churchwardens of Norris's parish,

* In a return printed by Rushworth, (vol. i. p. 394, 1625,) Sir William Norris is set down, "Captain of the general forces, and Justice of the Peace, a Recusant." The Protestantism of the Speke family probably began with Thomas Norris, who married Katherine Garway; and therefore was only felt in Lancashire after the Restoration. The Lodge pedigree makes Sir William Norris die in 1626; Rushworth shows him to be alive in 1631. The son William was not knighted.

(Childwall,) to know how often he absented himself from church; he said it was "ungentlemanlike dealing," whereupon Moore, not denying the charge, replied, that "he was too credulous of the speeches of the churchwardens." Norris, exasperated by the evasive reply, gave Moore "the lie," which, being returned to Norris's "throat," the latter drew his sword, and "struck" Moore twice therewith, "being then a justice of the peace." For this Norris was fined £1000, committed to prison, and made to pay £50 to Moore. A number of less known names occur as defendants in this suit, and they are fined, pilloried, and imprisoned to Moore's entire satisfaction.

In 1630, John Moore served the office of bailiff of Liverpool, John Williamson, a person of very congenial political sentiments, being mayor. The Williamsons were then, and long afterwards, an important Liverpool family, and one of the old squares still perpetuates their name. In 1633 John Moore was mayor; Robert Williamson in 1634; and we conclude the Royalists won the election in 1635, as Thomas Bixteth then succeeded. In 1633 and 1634, the two writs for ship money which cost our ever revered patron, HUMPHREY CHETHAM, so much trouble, were disposed of at Liverpool. For the first writ, by this borough of whose extreme poverty the wealthy sheriff entertained an unbounded contempt, £15 was raised; but whether the effort exhausted the town's resources, or whether, (as we have some evidence was the case,) a meeting was held, and Moore's party interfered, we cannot now determine; but Chetham's account estab-

lishes the fact that to the second writ of £25 no return appeared.

About 1633 John Moore united himself to a Rigby. Of his wife we only know that she left him two sons and one daughter, Edward and Alexander, and Jane, and perhaps another son, John, who died in 1669. Edward Moore never mentions his mother, though he writes of all his family whom he remembers interred at Liverpool, and she probably died in his childhood.* The grandfather had been dead thirty

* This lady probably belonged to the Rigbies of Burgh, a Royalist family. Rigby of Peel, (Alexander, the second son,) was a constant coadjutor of Moore's. This Alexander was M.P. for Wigan. Busy as were lawyers in those days; yet Alexander Rigby, in activity, exceeded them all. He was on more parliamentary committees than any one else. He was ready to forward the strongest measures, as impeaching Lord Strange and Lord Keeper Finch, and desirous, too, of seeing them convicted and executed. This man's travelling between Lancashire and London, in days when it was a formidable journey, was incessant; he regulated the Lancashire affairs altogether; and when need was, fought bravely, as at Thurland Castle, 16th October, 1643, to the astonishment of Whitelock, and at Latham House, where Lady Derby designated him as the "inveterate rebel." Then he could be microscopic upon occasions; thus, Lady Grosvenor, being somewhat of a gossip, there was a committee formed "concerning words spoken in her chamber," and two waiting maids and a doctor, with Lady Grosvenor, are sent for to appear in May, 1646, before Rigby, Glyn, and others. Lieut. Col. Alexander Rigby, the lawyer's eldest son, fell, during the siege of 1644, into Lady Derby's hands, and his exchange for his relation, Lieut. Col. Uriah Leigh of Adlington, was long negotiating, (Commons' *Journals*, 27th February, 1644 — 3d May, 1645.) Edward Rigby, another son, is in prison for debt, 15th February, 1646, and the father swears he has been his servant for three months, and he is ordered to be discharged. It was the

years in 1668, as his son, the colonel, before 1638, granted leases.

The return to the very short parliament, lasting from 13th April, 1640, to 5th May, of Lord Cranfield and John Holcroft, proves that Moore's politics had now the ascendancy in the town. Not even Essex had deeper wrongs to avenge on the Stuarts than Cranfield. Holcroft was content, during a part of the next parliament, to assist the cause in Lancashire; he held the office of mayor of Liverpool in 1644, and in 1645 replaced Orlando Bridgman at Wigan, and in 1648 terminated his public life in "Pride's purge."

The election made by Liverpool in October, 1640, marks a complete division of sentiment amongst the burgesses, John Moore being a puritan and republican, and Sir Richard Wynn a courtier. This Carnarvonshire baronet, of a family

Howard *v.* Gossett process of that day; and on January 18th, 1647, the pertinacious creditors are finally stopped by a House of Commons order, directing the judges, counsel, attorney, and solicitors, to stay proceedings, and to "yield obedience." A very few days after this, Edward, so creditably delivered from paying his debts, is put forward for the place of Clerk of the Crown for Lancashire, void by the delinquency of Alexander Rigby of the Burgh. It is decided that the question shall not be put, and William Ashurst was appointed. Rigby never seems to have been popular; and his not sitting as one of the king's judges, to which he was named, could not be pleasing to Cromwell, although it is incorrect that Rigby was removed from his office as one of the barons of the exchequer. He died shortly after Moore, on the circuit, 19th August, 1650; (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* vol. ii. p. 532.) Perhaps the most violent of the many violent acts of Rigby was that mentioned in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 184, of his bargaining to sell the masters of St. John's, Queen's, and Jesus, as slaves to Algiers.

now extinct, began life in the service of Charles, attending that prince into Spain. Wynn wrote a lively account of what he saw, which has been since printed by Hearne. The death of his elder brother, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, gave him the family estates and title. Sir Richard was also some time in the household of Henrietta Maria. In April, 1640, he sat for the Royalist borough of Newton, and now possibly "by the injurious intermeddling" of Lord Strange, as the puritan writers styled it, was member for Liverpool. We can imagine the triumph around the old tower by the water side at this partial victory; and it will be remembered that William, earl of Derby, from his retirement at Bidston, looked down upon Liverpool, and that, though worn out by age and travel, he had still nearly two years to live, and may be supposed to have enjoyed the success of his son's candidate.

The object, however, of the Royalist efforts, was unworthy. Wynn wanted moral courage, and, in voting for Strafford, exhausted all his daring. On December 1st, 1641, Sir Richard was of that strange party, chiefly of loyal members, which Pym named to present the remonstrance to the king. Dering, who had violently opposed its reception, was selected to read it, and being absent, that stout cavalier Ralph Hopton, took his place, and stated to the house, that, arriving at Hampton Court, "Sir Richard Wynn, (I may name him upon this occasion,) gave his Majesty notice of our being there."

We do not elsewhere connect Wynn with his old master.

Sir Richard did not go to Oxford, or attempt any vigorous opposition to those with whom he acted, although not of their opinions. He signed the covenant, but had periods of vacillation; thus, on 2d September, 1642, he was suspended as an absent member, and on the 20th September, "takes time 'til to-morrow to consider what he will bring in for the maintenance of the Earl of Essex." The morrow saw the member for Liverpool subscribing to the Presbyterian general. In 1643 Wynn evidently intended to break loose. The ordinance, however, of 19th August, 1643, directing the sale of members' estates who shall wilfully neglect the service of the house, and a summons on 28th September, requiring him to account before a committee for his continued absence, effectually quenched any rising loyalty, and on October 10th, the day he had to appear, he was "admitted to come into the house."

His career is otherwise most unimportant. We do not find he ever acted with Moore, or interfered in Lancashire; his highest occupation was some Welsh committee, and his greatest trust a deputy lieutenancy in Denbighshire. Wynn was secluded December, 1648, and his place became vacant by death before 28th August, 1649, when a new writ issued, and Colonel Thomas Birch was elected.

John Moore had scarcely arrived in London when we find him thoroughly engaged with the movement party. On December 5th, 1640, his name, and those of all the merchants in the house, are added to the committee on the subject of monopolies, than which none more intensely

interesting to the public at that time existed. On December 11th, he is on the Tewkesbury election committee; February 13th, on the committee for abolishing superstition and idolatry; February 15th, assisting in the reversal of a decree in chancery; November 16th, 1641, at his old family occupation of searching after recusants; in short, he enlisted himself as a devoted follower of Pym, the English Mirabeau, and nothing seemed too great or too small for the eager partisanship of the new senator. In Strafford's process, Laud's impeachment, and the various attacks made on the regal authority, we have no trace of Moore's not acting with the majority. On the 12th of August, 1641, he obtained leave to go into the country.

At the latter end of October, 1641, occurred the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland; and Liverpool, we gather from Seacome, became filled with refugees. This was the first step towards the greatness of the port, which had hitherto been deemed, almost to a proverb, poor, and merely "a creek of Chester." Some of the Irish brought their substance with them; but there came over also many of the poor. The committee of the Commons appointed to receive the monies given by the members of the House for the relief of the distressed people that are come out of Ireland, are directed (7th February, 1641) to pay £200 to Mr. John Moore, to be conveyed to the mayor of Liverpool, to be distributed amongst the poor Irish who have arrived there. On April 9th, 1642, Moore and William Thomas subscribe, jointly, £600 towards the fund "for the speedy reducing of

the Irish rebels." Oliver Cromwell gave £500; but we do not agree with Mr. Carlyle that this great adventurer "was in all ways zealously urging the work," but believe that Cromwell's subscription was given, whatever might be the case as to Moore's, with a full knowledge that it would be used against the king in England. The king's message of the 13th of August, 1641, upon this subject, and the lengthy and able reply of the Commons, the work, probably of Pym, is the best commentary on a charge which was afterwards made, by Geohegan and the Irish writers, that the Roundheads, by availing themselves of the sympathy felt in England for their Protestant fellow subjects in Ireland, raised men and money which were entirely used on this side of the channel; and from the same surely not very blameable practice Charles was himself by no means free.

The militia ordinance passed 1st May, 1641. In March, 1642, Moore was appointed a deputy lieutenant for Lancashire, and on April 13th is sent to Brereton in Cheshire, to expedite the levies for Ireland; and on the 9th of June, with his colleagues Rigby, Shuttleworth, and Ashton, receives orders, carefully drawn, in which Hampden and Wilde had assisted, to put the militia ordinance into execution. On the 25th June the deputation are at Manchester, and write to Lenthall an account of the proceedings of the Royalists. Lord Strange had seized thirty barrels of powder at Liverpool. The Roman Catholics under Tyldesley appear at this time to have garrisoned the town. Whether Moore's order, obtained on the 28th of May preceding, to fortify his house, was sufficient to protect it, does not appear.

Leaving the hundred of West Derby to follow its own loyal inclinations, Moore appears, on July 25th, 1642, to be in London, and employed in the way most congenial to his early pursuits, and most essential to the interests of his new associates; he became the parliament's police officer. On November 24th, 1642, the House order Moore to desire the lord mayor to search for runaway soldiers from Essex's army, and "Mr. Moore is desired to take care that a search be likewise made about Westminster and Middlesex, and to grant his warrants for the execution of this order."

In January, 1642–3, Moore appears in Cheshire. There is a tract put forth in 1646, by the Cheshire sequestrators, in order to enhance the guilt of their victims, entitled, "A horrible and bloody plot to murder Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Colonel John Moore, and above a hundred more of the parliament men, &c. with the names of the knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, who were chief actors therein." This refers to a foolish escapade of the Royalists, who, in 1642, indicted at Chester "the above, and hundreds more," for high treason, being those who defeated Sir Arthur Aston on January 29th, 1642, at Nantwich. The list of the grand jury who found the indictment is given, and a complaint made, "that 18 never appeared on any grand jury before." Moore is separately indicted; he was apparently making his way to join Brereton, but we do not know that Moore was in the battle of Nantwich. He is charged as having, at Weston, January 20th, traitorously imagined and intended rebellion, with a

great number of people, to the number of one hundred, armed and arrayed, and assembled together in a warlike manner. The indictment was found 10th February, 1642–3, and the proceedings against Moore have a bitterness which is shown to no one else, for he alone is summoned by the sheriff, Sir Richard Grosvenor, to three courts, 1st and 19th of April, and 27th May, 1643, and then outlawed.

On the 1st of April, 1643, Moore is again in London, and ordered to take down an "obnoxious proclamation," and to inquire by the best means who set it up; April 24th he is nominated on the committee to destroy superstitious monuments in and about London; and on May 15th he is assisting in "listing" all horses in and about London, and ten miles round; on May 30th, (evidently in connection with the proceedings in regard to Waller's plot,) Moore is at one step made a colonel. "It is resolved," (Commons' *Journal*,) "Colonel John Moore shall have power to call a regiment together, by the beat of drum or otherwise, to assist him in searching for, and seizing of arms, in such suspected places as he shall be informed of, and shall think fit." This was a more general warrant than that which made Wilkes's fortune. In June, Moore took the covenant, and on the 9th of that month is enjoined to search "the trunks and fardels" of the French ambassador, and to seal them up again previously to his going to Charles. June 10th, Moore is employed to apprehend Sir George Kemp and other papists, in Lincoln's Inn fields; and on the 12th is sent to the Portuguese ambassador, to admonish him not to harbour suspected persons and

papists. Moore henceforth figures as colonel of the Guards, and is said to have the benefit of passes out of London; (Somers' *Tracts*, vol. vii. p. 60.)

In Lancashire, meanwhile, the Royal cause enjoyed an ephemeral prosperity, and in Ireland Ormond was urging that cessation, signed 15th November, 1643, which had for its object the setting troops at liberty to aid the king. This was the cherished scheme of Charles throughout his reign; he had encouraged it when Falkland was deputy, and also when Strafford ruled, and Leicester's not being sent was because Charles very wisely distrusted his zeal for the Royal cause. The parliament had also their attention fixed on Ormond's movements, for, since Strafford's trial, the purpose of Charles could be no secret.

The list of Lancashire sequestrators appeared April 1st, 1643, and on this formidable committee Moore's name appears. The rumours of approaching aid to their opponents from Ireland, and the entire helplessness of parliament along the western frontier, at last roused the troops at Manchester from inaction. Lord Derby was defeated, and on May-day morning, (or as some assert, 26th May,) 1643, Warrington, defended by Norris, was attacked, and surrendered after a week's siege. Brereton here joined the Lancashire forces, and the whole proceeded to Liverpool. What occured on this occasion is not easy to discover. An anonymous tract states that Ashton won the town by storm, that Tyldesley lost three hundred out of sixteen hundred men, and then there is a most unintelligible sentence, that a vessel of Lord

Warwick's "strook into the harbour," "rather by accident than with any intent to assist the Earl of Derby." A better authority, (Lancashire's *Valley of Achor*,) merely states, the town changed hands. No doubt this attack, by the united forces of Lancashire and Cheshire, upon Liverpool, was mainly caused by the approximation to union between Ormond and the "confederate Catholics," and the dread of an Irish armada on the coast. The danger was indeed imminent; for the failure of producing any effect in England, of the thousands of troops sent over by Ormond during the latter part of 1643, and early in 1644, is a matter that could not have been calculated upon. No sooner had the parliament gained the town than they began to organize a marine. The beginnings were small. On the 13th of June, 1643, it is ordered by the Commons "that the two small barks, taken and sent into Plymouth and Liverpool, be employed for the defence of the coasts of Ireland, and that the committee of the navy take care herein, and that they treat with Mr. Moore concerning the ship at Liverpoole, which Mr. Moore lays claim and pretence unto." The negotiation was fruitless, and Moore armed and sent forth the vessel on his own account; for we find him, in 1644, claiming, and receiving, satisfaction for the service the state had received from this vessel "for a year and more."

If the congregation of the Protestants flying from Ireland gave the first impetus to the prosperity of Liverpool, the second came from the urgent necessity of creating a parliament's navy in the Irish channel, and from Liverpool being the

only port at which it could be done. Chester was held firmly for the king, and the time had now come when the value of the "creek," from no discovery of the superiority of the Mersey over the Dee, but from the force of circumstances, was to be measured against the hitherto deemed superior haven. Up to this time, 1643, the road from Ireland to England was as open to the Royalists as it was closed to their adversaries. The parliament could hope for no succours from that quarter; they merely endeavoured to keep up the semblance of an interest there, by sending the Scotch to protect the settlements of James in Ulster, and especially those in the city of London, (and the Scotch immediately set up for themselves,) by encouraging Inchequin, by giving some countenance to Ormond, and by various other arts; in short, any plan which did not weaken their game in England; laying up, the whole time, however, amongst their most unalterable intentions, the resolution of having a day of vengeance, such as Cromwell gave them, for the massacre of 1641. The sea had long swarmed with Irish cruisers. Husband gives a letter of mark issued by "the confederated Catholics," of the date of 30th December, 1642, and one of the king's, of 1st June, 1643.

As "the cessation" was about to be signed, the parliament issued an ordinance, 5th September, 1643, nominally to prevent the coming over of Irish "rebels," but really to keep back those of their own English troops, who, having been sent there and neglected, had been enticed over by Ormond, and were now about to be set at liberty. We find no trace

of Ormond's sending over any "Irish rebels;" such, no doubt, was the object of Glamorgan's negotiations; but let the reader turn to Ludlow, and observe his testimony on the subject.* Ormond took the gold of Rinuccini's followers, but avoided having other assistance. On 24th October, 1643, the parliament issued a general letter of mark against the Irish. There was another and worse purpose in this

* The ordinance declares that if "*any soldiers of the English army*" should at this time come over, it would be the losing of Ireland, and it is ordered that no vessel shall bring any person out of Ireland into England, unless specially authorized, on pain of forfeiture of such vessel. Ludlow says, "The forces that had been sent by the parliament to the assistance of the distressed Protestants in Ireland, being, under pretence that they were neglected, brought into England to serve against those who raised them." This refers to Sandford, and "the Irish cut-throats" denounced at Nantwich. Ludlow has a stronger passage, previously, on the subject, in reference to Lord Leicester. The policy of the dominant party towards Ireland, at this period, is well expressed in the old song:

Did we force Ireland to despair,
Upon the king to cast the war,
To make the world abhor him,
Because the rebels us'd his name,
Tho' we ourselves can do the same.
While both alike were for him?

Then the same fire we kindled here
With that, was given to quench it there,
And wisely lost that nation,
To do as crafty beggars use,
To maim themselves thereby to abuse
The simple man's compassion.

measure, besides the hindering the passage of troops. The first articles of the cessation are to encourage food being sent to Ireland, as famine was at hand in that country. In the declaration of the parliament of 30th September, 1643, remarking on the cessation, they state, "If they can be deprived of the benefit of this harvest, they are not likely to see the next summer." The Irish channel was now as busy with war as the land. Pirates, such as Brereton found resorting, in 1635, to Lundy, and such as Sir C. Coote stated, July, 1647, (*Lords' Journals*,) infested the Irish coasts in small frigates, running into all creeks, and surprising many barks; Lord Derby's ever active and efficient navy; privateers under the three letters of mark, and sometimes carrying all in one vessel; Warwick and his admiral and vice-admiral of the Irish seas; Scotch privateers; no wonder that Moore's ship, in 1643, was taken by Lord Derby, and retaken by "the captain of the Jocelyn."

As September 15th, 1643, approached, more symptoms of the anticipated effects of the cessation appear. On August 31st, 1643, an intercepted letter is read in the Commons, from Captain Sidney, (Algernon, then twenty years old,) stating his intention to go to the king. Algernon and his elder brother, Lord Lisle, were returning from Ireland dissatisfied, as the Leicester family ever were, with the Irish service during this reign, precisely because they would have reconciled two irreconcileable services, the king's and the parliament's. The alarm of the Commons, which was wholly without ground in this instance, led them, five days

afterwards, to pass the ordinance above alluded to. The two brothers made for Chester; there the distrust Charles entertained for them was more than shared; he had before stopped Leicester at this very port. Chester had now become a Royalist Irish garrison; and by an entry on the Lords' *Journals*, 1st October, 1646, we gather that Irishmen were made free of the city. The Sidneys, plundered and ill treated, made for Liverpool; here they were seized as prisoners, their persons searched, and their papers sent to London; an order is immediately sent down, (31st August, 1643,) that the deputy lieutenants and committees of Lancashire do send up in safe custody Lord Lisle, Captain Sidney, and Sir Richard Greenvil, guarded with a strong convoy; and all committees of counties through which they pass are ordered "to appoint a good convoy with the said persons." The committee at Liverpool are further directed "to seize all commanders and officers that come out of Ireland, and likewise to commit such common soldiers as come thence, unless they will take up arms for the parliament." The Sidneys early adopted this latter alternative.

Sir William Brereton, an active officer, now commanded at Liverpool. He writes, June 7th, 1643, and his letter is referred to the committee for the navy, "concerning the ships at Liverpool to continue there for the safety and defence of the said coasts, and concerning the customs of the said port for the maintenance of the said ships;" they are likewise to write to the Earl of Warwick to take some course to proceed against the treacherous master of the pinnace,

"and likewise to desire my Lord General to grant commissions of martial law to Sir William Brereton." This officer could, however, be ill spared from his own county of Chester; and the supplies daily arriving from Ormond, and the advantage of reducing both Lancashire and Cheshire, invited more vigorous efforts on the side of the parliament. The opportunity was inviting; Newcastle had withdrawn from the Yorkshire hills near Manchester; Lord Derby was in the Isle of Man; and Lathom, the stronghold of the cavaliers, was governed by a Frenchwoman, Charlotte, countess of Derby. Ashton, Shuttleworth, Moore, and Rigby, with extraordinary powers, were sent into their county, October 18, 1643. Moore, of course, came to Liverpool, and there raising a regiment of foot, and a troop of horse, employed Martindale as his clerk.* We have from the last this testimony of the service: "As he was the only justice of the peace in that part of the country, besides his military employment, I got money under him, so as might have satisfied me. But

* The exhibition of an ancient justice's doings brings upon us a flood of old recollections. Of Robert Shallow, whose "every third word was a lie;" of Jonson's Justice Preamble, alias Bramble, and his clerk, Miles Metaphor; of Justice Clements and Roger Formal; and when Brainworm disguises himself as the latter, (Clements' clerk,) he exacts two angels for a warrant, and says, (like Moore's assistant,) "I may make benefit of my place." Then there is Adam Overdo, "when he is angry, be it right or wrong, he has the law on's side ever;" he is determined to "spare spy money," and is convinced that "most of our intelligencers are knaves," and so going in the disguise of a fool, gets beat and put in the stocks. Neither the lawyer nor the justice found much favour with our old dramatists. Probably the cause

his family was such an hell upon earth as was utterly intolerable. There was such a pack of arrant thieves, and they so artificial at their trade, that it was scarce possible to save anything out of their hands." "Those who were not thieves, if there were any such, were generally, if not universally, desperately profane, and bitter scoffers at piety." The soldiers were cast in another mould, and met every night to read and to pray.

On November 12th, 1643, Moore writes that the rebels begin to rise in Cork, and that divers men of war of Bristol and Wexford are arrived at Dublin, to bring over more soldiers. The parliament evidently valued the colonel's services at this period, for on 22d November, 1643, it is ordered, "that the committee for the navy do forthwith write to my Lord Warwick concerning the making of Colonel Moore vice-admiral of the coasts between Holyhead and Whitehaven, and likewise to make Captain Williamson captain of the Samuel of Liverpool." We observe Edward Moore, in the Rental, calls his father vice-admiral of the

of the parliament's so frequently sending Moore into Lancashire was not dissimilar to that which moved Satan to send his deputy into the same county:

> "The state of Hell must care
> Whom it employs, in point of reputation,
> Here about London. You would make, I think,
> An agent to be sent for Lancashire
> Proper enough."
>
> *The Devil is an Ass*, act i. sc. 1.

Irish seas. The appointment here made is hardly more extensive than that of a modern Liverpool harbour master. We cannot speak positively as to the disposition of the office at this precise period; but on 9th March, 1646, we notice in the Lords' *Journals* that Captain Swanley and Captain Crowther, both of Warwick's navy, were admiral and vice-admiral of the Irish seas; and we apprehend the offices, in 1643, were attached to the parliament's navy. After the Restoration it was otherwise, and the Earls of Derby held the inferior dignity.

But Moore, with his mercenary rout, did not long enjoy favour. It is ordered by the Commons, 18th December, 1643, in a very significant fragment, "that the demeanour and carriage of the captains of the ships that lie at Leverpoole, and upon the coasts thereabout, in not at all endeavouring to impeach the landing of the soldiers lately come out of Ireland, ... Sir Tho. Middleton, and Mr. Ashurst are appointed to acquaint my Lord Admiral herewith." At this time Sir Michael Ernle, and two thousand five hundred men had landed at Mostyn, and there were rumours that Beirne and three thousand more were on their way from Wexford to Chester.

Moore, Ashton, and Rigby, were directed, February 24th, 1643, to form the siege of Lathom House. This was not Moore's sort of service; he was not there at the commencement, and all we know of him is, that on April 4th, 1644, his name, with that of another, is appended to a letter inviting the ministers to pray for success to the cause.

Before May 26th, Moore had left, and a fortnight afterwards Rupert attacked him at Liverpool. The town, after a gallant defence, surrendered June 26th, and Seacome, accounting for this event, from evidently a good authority, writes: "Others say that Colonel Moore, observing they would be taken, to ingratiate himself with the prince, and to save his house and effects at Bank Hall near it, gave directions to the soldiers to retreat from those works." We suppose that the "fort of eight guns to guard the entrance of the dock, and *to prevent all passages by the river side at low water*," stood on Pluckington bank, and that in no other situation could it have effected these two objects. We also suppose it was the "Mersey Island fort," occasionally alluded to in that day, and which, besides the eight guns, was strongly garrisoned. On 28th February, 1650, the Commons order the governor's pay to be eight shillings, and the lieutenant's four shillings per diem; and it appears twenty-four foot soldiers had recently been added to the establishment.*

After the defeat at Marston Moor, July 2d, 1644, all was dismay and confusion among the Lancashire Royalists. Liverpool and Lathom were alone able to make a semblance of holding out. The former sustained a siege from August

* There was also a fort at the end of Water street, facing the river, called the Mardyke. In the *Perfect Diurnall*, July 9th to July 16th, 1649, Mersey Island has for governor Captain Burrell, and Liverpool Col. Thomas Birch. Perhaps the strangest of the many attempts to fortify this valuable port is the fourteen gun battery in Perry's map of 1769, running the length of the old church yard, and masked by "the new dry dock."

26th to November 1st, and then surrendered to Meldrum, whose promise of quarter to the Irish, (and here we have evidence of the presence of the real kerns,) being against the ordinance of October 1644, is, with some remark, admitted by the Commons, 9th November, 1644.

We lose sight of Moore, at this period, for a few months. The self-denying ordinance, passed April 3d, 1645, affected only commissions granted by parliament, and Moore was now a colonel under the militia ordinance of May 1st, 1641, made by those deputy lieutenants whose extensive powers were required "to be speedily taken into consideration" by the sixth article of the armies' declaration of 1647. He therefore continued in parliament, and on May 14th, 1645, was a participator in that miserable job, in which Rigby had evidently a great hand, whereby seventy or eighty members, with Whitlocke at their head, were stated "to be persons meet to receive supplies from the publick, for that they have lost or been deprived of their estates by this unnatural war, made by the king against the parliament, or are in such want, or necessity, that by reason thereof they cannot, without supplies, support themselves in the service of the house, shall have the weekly sum of £4 apiece." This grant was annulled 20th August, in the same year. On May 17th, Major Ashurst was made governor of Liverpool, possibly vacated by Moore to keep without the reach of the ordinance. The pay of the governor, as stated by the Lords, 13th April, 1647, was twelve shillings per diem as governor, and eight shillings as captain. We may remark, that all the officers

serving the Commons appear enormously paid; but we have abundant evidence that the money was seldom received, and the portion occasionally obtained cost more trouble to arrive at than it did in the earning.

A petition from the town of Liverpool was presented 17th September, 1645, and an ordinance read "for settling the Milne and ferry boats upon the said corporation in part of their satisfaction;" it was at the same time ordered, "that five hundred tons of timber be allowed unto the town of Leverpoole, for rebuilding the said town, in a great part destroyed and burnt down by the enemy; and that the said five hundred ton be felled in the grounds and woods of James earl of Derby, Richard Lord Mollineux, William Norris, Robert Blundell, Robert Mollineux, Charles Gerard, and Edward Scarisbrisk, esquires, and that it be referred to the committee for Lancaster that are members of this house, to take order for the due and orderly felling of the said timber, and for apportioning the quantities to be allowed to the persons that suffered by the burning of the said town, and the rebuilding thereof."

During the summer of 1645, there was some difficulty in paying the Lancashire regiments; indeed from this time they were a source of annoyance to the government. On the 15th of May, 1645, the house ordered that two officers of Rigby's regiment, and Captain Crawford, a captain of Moore's regiment, are "to make discoveries of any papists' or delinquents' estates that are concealed, towards the payment of some parts of the arrears of the said regiments."

This species of licensed plundering became, in the poverty of the rulers, very common. Lancashire had suffered by war, free quarters, pestilence, the constant immigration of adventurers from Ireland, and by the refined ingenuity of sequestrators, and soldiers authorised to seize what they could get. No wonder that so early as the 11th September, 1644, we find on the Commons' *Journals* that "there hath been such spoil, rapine, and unheard of cruelties, lately committed by the enemy within the county of Lancaster, insomuch that in some parts the people have hardly anything to cover their nakedness, or their children bread to eat." This state of things was hardly ameliorated under Cromwell and his majors-general.

Moore remained this autumn in London, and on 22d November, 1645, obtained permission to go into the country for six weeks. The struggle round Liverpool was rapidly drawing to a close. December 4th, Lathom surrendered; and the very important city of Chester,* towards which its "creek" had been acting the part of sentry, fell to the Commons on February 3d, 1645–6. The war in a few weeks,

* Chester, almost until the reign of George I., maintained its importance as the port for passing to Dublin and the North of Ireland. It was the terminus of one of the four great post roads into which England, by more than an official regulation, was divided: and Liverpool, long after it had become a thriving place for foreign trade, had its merchants and letters transferred to and from London by Chester.

One of the earliest methods of facilitating the conveyance of the public was by supplying horses. Thus, in the *Mercurius Politicus* for July 1st, 1658, the following advertisement occurs. "The post masters on the

everywhere ceased throughout England. A Lancashire committee, of which Moore was a member, named the 29th August, 1645, began to regulate the assessments, to reduce

Chester road, petitioning, have received order, and do accordingly publish the following advertisement.

"All gentlemen, merchants, and others, who have occasion to travel between London and West Chester, Manchester and Warrington, or any other town upon that road, for the accommodation o f trade, dispatch of business, and ease of purse, upon every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning, betwixt six and ten of the clock, at the house of Mr. Christopher Charteris, at the sign of the Hart's-horns in West Smithfield, and post master there, and at the post master of Chester, at the post master of Manchester, and at the post master of Warrington, may have a good and able single horse, or more, furnished at threepence the mile, without the charge of a guide: and so likewise at the house of Mr. Thomas Challinor, post master at Stone, in Staffordshire, and so likewise at all the several post masters upon the road, who will have all such set days so many horses, with furniture, in readiness to furnish the riders, without any stay, to carry them to and from any of the places aforesaid in four days, as well to London, as from thence, and to places nearer in less time, according to their occasions shall require, they ingaging at the first stage where they take horse, for the safe delivery of the same to the next immediate stage, and not to ride that horse any further, without consent of the post master by whom he rides, and so from stage to stage to their journey's end.

"All those who intend to ride this way, are desired to give a little notice beforehand, if conveniently they can, to the several post masters where they first take horse, whereby they may be furnished with so many horses, as the riders shall require, with expedition.

"This undertaking began the 28th of June, 1658, at all the places above said, and so continues by the several post masters."

Stage coaches, however, to Chester, existed in 1657. There is an advertisement in the same paper, March 24th, 1659, stating that from the George

the militia, to organize the train bands in large towns, to urge on, and to share in, the sequestration of estates, and for other oppressive purposes; and hence, we suppose, the colonel's visit to his county.

From April to August, 1646, Moore attended Parliament. Throughout this summer, the necessity of interfering strongly in Irish affairs, in proportion as there was less doing in England, became more urgent in the eyes of the Commons. At first an expedition was sought to be raised out of "super-

Inn without Aldersgate, every Monday and Thursday, goes a coach and four able horses to carry passengers to Chester, in five days, at reasonable rates; and the owners declare they "have performed it this two years." In 1713, when Swift's party were turned out, and he was preparing himself for poverty and flight, "I design," says the discomfited politician, "to walk all the way to Chester, my man and I, by ten miles a day. It will do my health a great deal of good. I shall do it in fourteen days." — *Journal to Stella*, Swift's Works, vol. iii. p. 154.

The shortest distance from London to Chester by the road, is about one hundred and eighty-two miles.

In 1727 the riding post continued to be a mode of travelling. Post horses are said to be always in readiness, (taking no horse without the consent of the owner, which in other reigns, it seems, was not duly observed,) and only threepence per mile is demanded, and fourpence per stage for the post boy conducting; the Trink geld, of course, extra. "There is of late an admirable commodiousness, both for men and women of better quality, to travel from London to almost any town of England, by stage coaches, wherein one may be transported, sheltered from foul weather and foul ways, at about one shilling for every five miles; the stage coaches, called flying coaches, make fifty or sixty miles in a day, as from London to Oxford, sometimes seventy or eighty, or a hundred miles, as to Southampton, Bury, Cirencester, or Norwich." — Chamberlain, p. 265.

numeraries," "militia," "slighted garrisons," &c., &c. On August 11th, that singular order was issued, (Whitlocke, p. 223,) "that all forces which were not of Sir T. Fairfax's army, or of garrisons not to be slighted, should list themselves for Ireland, or be disbanded." If the first negative had been struck out of this order, the honest wish of the parliament would have been expressed; but the soldiers in the contest, soon after commencing, as well as Cromwell, viewed the matter in its true light, and on April 28, 1647, the officers ask Fairfax, "Can the Irish expedition be anything else, but a design to ruin and break this army in pieces." Whilst the king remained under restraint, there seemed every reason why the Nuncio should recommend the Irish to protect themselves. Ormond had no power; and, as though to complicate matters, Glamorgan and Lord Digby were then in Dublin, the former imprisoned on a charge of high treason made by the latter; and both intriguing with the confederates, unknown to Ormond. All these things, and the avowed exterminating determinations of the parliament, surely justified Rinuccini in the rising which the Roman Catholic clergy especially promoted. Ormond acted as a judicious and faithful servant of Charles; and it would lead to an enquiry foreign to our subject to examine into the causes of the failure of the expeditions of the English adventurers he so frequently sent to England.

The Nuncio and Preston were at the gates of Dublin, when Ormond (13 Oct., 1646) sent over for assistance from the Commons. The commissioners arrived (13 Nov., 1646),

but seeking to drive too hard a bargain, Ormond, having borrowed some ammunition, and by the arrival of the commissioners' fleet, being freed from the besiegers, declined to conclude the treaty. Throughout the autumn of 1646, regiments were sent into Ireland; and that of Col. Michael Jones, from Cheshire, as well as Moore's, received orders to embark: a portion of this last corps got safely over, but in the commissioner's letter from Belfast, 21st Dec., 1646, (Lords' *Journals*) we read that Captain Cator's ship, carrying about four hundred of Col. Moore's regiment, and fifty barrels of powder, suffered shipwreck near Beaumaris, but "all the men's lives are saved. When these men got to land, most of them ran away, or fell sick, so that of the four hundred, but seventy soldiers and fourteen officers came hither;" and in the same letter it is stated, "the number of Col. Moore's regiment now landed here, upon muster, appears to be four hundred and forty-eight." On 21st August, 1647, the House of Commons direct the Derby House committee to consider of some speedy course for relief "of divers officers of Col. John Moore's, who, with the men, were shipwrecked upon their passage for the service of Ireland." Moore himself had, on October 2nd, 1646, been named, along with Williamson of Liverpool, Cooper of Kirkdale, Chambers of Liverpool, whom we find, in 1650, acting as a receiver for the Moore estate, and others, as fit to belong to the fifth Classis in the new Presbyterian church government about to be established in Lancashire.

It was a most absurd measure, at this period, to organize

a connection with the Scotch church, which originally had been acquiesced in only to secure auxiliaries to oppose the king, and which, connected as it was with recollections of the shameful campaign of 1639, might now have been omitted. This measure was never attempted but in Lancashire and Westminster. Cromwell already regarded it as one of the engines levelled against himself; and how far the common people were in its favour, even in Lancashire, its admirers had only to wait for Hamilton's campaign of 1648 to learn. Moore was appointed, December 3d, 1646, ranger of Knowsley park; but on September 8th, 1647, the sequestrators declare that Col. Moore is in Ireland, and that "no care is taken for preserving the game, as also the timber, from destruction," and they appoint another ranger. The West Derby sequestrators made very clean work, as Major-General Charles Worsley found, when he followed them. In fact, the ordinance of 2nd of May, 1646, declaring "that no Papist who has been in arms against the parliament shall compound for his delinquency," was acted on; and Worsley writes to Thurloe, December 21, 1655: "Many of the great delinquents in this county were Papists, and their estates clean sold away." The next sentence follows naturally: "So are now beginning to fill the prisons with suspitious fellows;" very possibly of the names of Molyneux, Blundell, &c., or of their dependants.*

* Blunt, (in "the committee") when his estate is sequestered, entreats "the honourable persons they will be pleased to be our housekeepers, to keep them in good reparation, we may take possession again without the

Ormond's position became altogether untenable. Castlehaven imagines that it was his advice that determined this great officer to surrender to parliament. Clarendon shows he could not have done otherwise; besides there were the express commands of Charles to Ormond so to act. On Feb. 20, 1646-7, Ormond with great eagerness called upon the commissioners to renew the negotiations. The parliament immediately acquiesced, but the gathering together troops, with a disaffected army at their doors, was not easy. It was June 5th *(Perfect Diurnal)* before letters from Chester announced that the parliament's commissioners "appointed to take care of Dublin embarked by three in the morning, with part of the forces in readiness, making 48 sail, having a fair wind." Three commissioners were on board, and Moore, who was also one, had already reached Ireland. On February 22nd, 1646, with two other officers, he petitions the Commons in behalf of themselves, and "the greatly distrest English soldiers, now residing in the Island of Lecayle, in Ulster." In the *Perfect Diurnal*, March 22nd, it states "Colonel Moore's regiment, save one company, and one of those quartered in Lecayle, to be put into the sole possession of Dundalk, the one company is to be put into Newry, to reinforce the garrison already there of the Marquises." Recruits were forwarded to make up Moore's great

help of the covenant," and "Now I am ready for any plot. I'll go find some of these agitants, and fill up a blank commission with my name, and if I can but find two or three gathered together, they are sure of me: I will please myself, however, with endeavouring to cut their throats."

deficiencies, a portion of which were sent by Ashurst from Liverpool. The *Diurnal* further informs us that, "the commissioners landed at Dublin, Monday, June 7th, after four days plying at sea;" amongst other troops in their train, are mentioned "recruits for Colonel Moore." Moore and Jones joined their brother commissioners, and "the business was followed close;" the agreement is finally signed, June 18th, and Moore's name appears to it. (Cox, vol. ii. Appendix, 38.) With these soldiers, so introduced, a marked change came over the treatment of the Roman Catholics, forming an important era in Irish history. "Some of the late-come soldiers have been unruly in disordering some mass houses, going in triumphant procession, with their copes and other trinkets, which much disconcerted the Papists, caused many of their clergy to depart with bag and baggage." (*Perfect Diurual.*) At this time we also learn, from the same authority, "that the troops in Lecayle are in great want of all things, especially shoes, stockings, and boots, which are not here to be had for money."

Colonel Michael Jones remained governor of Dublin, and in August, this celebrated soldier, being joined, amongst others, by Colonel Moore's regiment from Dundalk, (Cox, vol. ii. p. 195,) fought, on the 8th, the battle of Dungan. This was "the greatest and most decisive victory gained during the whole war." But where was Moore at the time?* In no list of those present, not even in Jones's

* Lingard has a note on the battle, (vol. xi. p. 25,) which perhaps confirms this suspicion of Moore's absence. It is from a MS., Belling's *History*

letter, which mentions several commanders, does Moore's name occur. If his brother commissioner had been there it is impossible he could have been overlooked. There is a remarkable letter in the Lords' *Journals*, 28th July, 1647, from two of the commissioners, (Annesley and King,) stating they will not stay any longer, that captains, and not commissioners, are wanted, the latter being odious to the army; that two commissioners are gone, (we suppose Meredith and Moore;) that Jones is every day putting his life in peril; and that Algernon Sidney and Colonel John Birch, who were on the commission, should be sent. On December 22, 1647, the Commons give Colonel Moore leave to return to England for three months. It was very politic to keep out of the way until the result of the struggle between the army and the parliament was ascertained, and until the course for a selfish man to pursue had become plain. The officers of Moore's regiment petition the Lords, December 14th, that Edward Erard, one of their men, who had stolen two horses in Buckinghamshire, when on his way to join his comrades, and had been tried and convicted at the assizes, might be pardoned and restored to the service.

Liverpool had now fairly commenced its course of great-

of the late Warre in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 95. Colonel Flower is stated to have said that he had no authority to grant quarter, but he made his men stand to their arms, and besides, preserved many who came to his colours. "In the mean time the Scotch Colonel Tichburn, and Colonel Moor of Bankkhall's regiments, without mercy, put the rest to the sword." They amounted to between three and four thousand men.

ness. Ormond, in his proposals to parliament, mentions this port as one which ought to have a free trade with Ireland, and also as fit to contain magazines and stores for the troops. These, with the incessant transmission of men and ammunition, formed the third source of the town's prosperity. On 1st March, 1646, the garrison is fixed at six hundred foot, and on 29th July one thousand are suggested as a better number. Moore remained separated from his regiment more than a year and a half. His first business was to get paid for his services. He stated, February 16, 1647, that £1000 is due to him, and he is authorized to procure it "out of such delinquents' estates as he or his assigns shall discover;" but, September 1, 1648, he procures a committee "to examine and proceed upon all discoveries of all such papists' or delinquents' estates, or of any monies assessed by the parliament four years since, that have been concealed or are or shall be discovered by Colonel John Moore and others, or by any of them employed." When the monies are got, the committee are to pay the discoverer all the arrears that shall appear to be due to him. In this very disgraceful and most tyrannical mode were the wages of public servants then paid. Moore continued in London through the summer of 1648. On June 10th, we find him on a committee "to dispose of prisoners as they shall think fit, by transportation or otherwise;" and on September 10th he reports to the house from the committee who disposed of the thousands of Scotch prisoners taken between Preston and Warrington by Cromwell. Their fate was hard. The

plantations were first served, we conclude Virginia and Barbadoes; the gentlemen of Bristol have five hundred given them; and the Scotchmen are actually sent into "the service of Venice." We believe that state, at this period, and indeed long after, had a large navy entirely of galleys with oars, and these men were therefore sent as galley slaves.

Moore, on his return, found his old Presbyterian associates in great abasement. He therefore sided with Cromwell, and consequently not being comprised amongst the one hundred and forty-three members who were secluded or imprisoned, is no surprise; and that he remained amongst the fifty-three, ululare cum lupis, and proceeded to carry out the usurper's plans, might have been foreseen. The first call made upon him was promptly responded to. The ejected members printed "a solemn protestation against the horrid force and violence of the officers;" although their own career had been previously similar, and their majority created by suspending and secluding, still this ebullition, under circumstances, might have been disregarded. Cromwell came to this opinion, but not before a committee of those most subservient to his views, on which Moore sat, had been appointed to discover "who printed, contrived, or published the scandalous paper," &c., which they readily voted, "false, malicious, and scandalous." Walker, in his *History of Independency*, informs us of the existence of a document which has apparently escaped the notice of the compilers of the parliamentary history. This is the protestation against the votes for a treaty with the king, and especially that of December 5th, 1648,

the immediate cause of Pride's violence. Walker says this "protestation" was adopted in obedience to the remonstrance of November 20, 1648; but to common observation, this second "protestation" arose out of the antagonist proceedings of the secluded members. Their protest is dated December 11th; that against the votes for treating with Charles, December 14th, (Walker, part ii. pp. 38, 48.,) and signed December 20th. Moore's name is to the second protest, and, what is of some consequence, Alexander Rigby's is also there, for we have otherwise only negative evidence that this lawyer persecuted to the last his unfortunate sovereign.

In the ordinance for the trial of the king, Colonel John Moore is named one of the judges. He sat every day during the trial, the 13th and 19th of January excepted. Noble says, Moore did not sign the death warrant; but this is a mistake. The question as to the degree in which he must be held to have participated in the guilt of the measure, in no way depends on the circumstance of signing; the first resolution of both houses, (Lords 18th May, and Commons 14th June, 1660,) made the being present when judgment was pronounced the test of criminality; the Lords afterwards added, "and signed the warrant for his murder." But both, and other considerations, ultimately governed the retributive processes. Thus Monson and Mildmay, who neither sentenced nor signed, were as heavily punished as Hutchinson, who did both; Pennington and Heaveningham, who did not sign, were found guilty of high treason, whilst Cook, Axtell,

Hacker, and Peters, who were not of the High Court of Justice, were tried and executed.

Moore signed. The strangely written name, of which the "John" is very legible, and the rest an evidently intended piece of bad writing, which follows John Jones's signature, is that of Moore. The hand has no resemblance to his ordinary signature, with which the Norris bond has made us acquainted. On July 21, 1660, Hollis brings to the Lords the original journal of the proceedings of the court, and states, "As concerning the warrant for execution, it was sent to Col. Hacker, who is now a prisoner in the tower." The two lists, of those who sentenced, and of those who signed, are read, July 24th, from "the journal." Moore's name occurs in both lists, and in the last it follows that of John Jones. The Lords preface the adoption of these lists with a reference to the original warrant, which is ordered to be delivered in the day after. On July 31st, Hacker sends the warrant, but no alteration is made; and excepting that Hutchinson and Ingoldsby are withdrawn, and Hardress Waller is out of his place, the list of July 24th is a copy of the original. But on October 10, 1660, the original warrant is produced at the Old Bailey, and the illegible name standing after that of Jones, is deciphered to be John Moore, as in the journal.

On February 10th, 1648, Moore is again under orders for Ireland. Instructions are given by the committee to disband the Lancashire forces, either to disband them or to dispose them for the business of Ireland; and Lambert and Moore

are ordered from this source to complete their regiments. Ludlow would make it appear that Cromwell alone disliked militia or supernumeraries; but the army, and Ludlow's own friends, shared this feeling. It was the distrust shown by the prætorian guard towards the legionaries of the provinces.

The militia, nominally disbanded, but kept together "under a pretence of a forwardness to serve the parliament in Ireland." Lambert was instructed thus to write to Captain Bamber, Major Barton Shuttleworth, and Captain Edward Shuttleworth: "Sir, I have done what possibly I could for the continuance of your troop for the service of Ireland, but the countrie's cryes have ever prevailed [over] my arguments, and have rendered your troop so disorderly and troublesome unto them, that the committee of estates have ordered it to be forthwith disbanded." A letter of Fairfax's, to the like effect, follows. (*Perfect Weekly Account*, 2nd to 9th May, 1649.) In the same paper we have a melancholy account from Liverpool, 5th May, 1649: "All things except labour continue very dear with us; and that which adds to our misery is, that we have not friends or neighbours able to relieve us. Fishing is extremely decayed by reason of Prince Rupert's power at sea, which is much to our prejudice, besides the hinderance of other commodities coming to us." In the *Perfect Diurnal*, under the date of 2d April, 1649, it is stated: "The Irish at sea, also, have taken five ships bound for Chester and Liverpool, and laden with about six or eight hundred tons of corn, and carried them into

Kinsale." This was Rupert's harbour until Blake drove him away. The Liverpool trader, mutatis mutandis, might now have echoed the wish of the merchant of the east coast:

> He would the sea were kept for anything,
> Betwixt Middleborough and Orewell.

Moore, whose presence on committees enables us to ascertain his continuance in London, reports, on May 7th, 1649, concerning the losses at Liverpool and the votes of the committee, viz., "Resolved, that ten thousand pounds be allotted for satisfaction of the losses of the town of Liverpool out of Sir William Gerard of the Bryn, Mr. Blundel of Crosby, Mr. Blundell of Ince, Mr. Chorley of Chorley, Mr. Fazakerley of Walton, Mr. Scarbrick of Scarbrick's estates, papists in arms, and whose estates are not otherwise disposed of, and were at Liverpool at taking of it, and were commissioners of array, and captains for the king." On 30th November, 1649, £600 is voted "for repairing the garrison" of Liverpool; and Colonel Thomas Birch, 2d February, 1649, obtains a power to Captain Duckenfield, Peter Ambrose, and Giles Meadowcroft, to correct and renew leases to this amount on Lord Derby's estates, to tenants "who have faithfully adhered to the parliament," so as to raise the money wanted.

Cromwell sailed from Bristol, August 13th, 1649, and at that port, Chester, and Liverpool, the preparations for the expedition were carried on with all the energy characteristic of its leader. Posterity regards the spectacle then presented

with feelings of loathing and horror.* A republic never either forgives or abandons a purpose; and from the hour of the dreadful massacre of 1641, the parliament had determined to avenge it by exceeding it in atrocity. The time was now come, and Cromwell proceeded to the work of butchery, and in doing so he gratified the fanatical temper of the puritans. Even as late as 1665, twenty and thirty people were executed at a time, under pretence of having taken part in the deeds of 1641. Neither Cromwell's requirements nor religious excitement quickened Moore; he

* Carlyle's assertion, that the Irish massacres of 1649–50 rest on less certain evidence than those of 1641, is wholly unsupported. Without relying on the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses as to Cromwell's doings in Ireland, we would simply refer his panegyrist to the letters printed by himself, and written by his hero. The inapplicable flattery with which this strange writer loads Cromwell is only paralleled by that used towards the Roman emperors, and which Jonson has imitated in the *Masks*, acted before James. We suppose Charles's death has a very slight bearing on Cromwell's proceedings, as it is dismissed in a line, whilst the atrocities perpetrated in Ireland are repudiated. This is what Bayes calls "the new way of writing" with a vengeance. The lieutenant general, when he undertook the Irish business, had three things to accomplish, and these were effectually done, but with a brutality that would alone place Cromwell's name on the roll of selfish and unscrupulous adventurers. 1st. He had to force the army, to which, in 1647, he had taught, for his own purposes, insubordination, and especially as regarded going to Ireland, to follow him there. 2d. It was necessary to secure the fidelity of the parliament's soldiers already in Ireland, who were very mercenary, bought readily by Ormond, and otherwise demoralised. 3d. The necessity immediately to reduce Ireland was urgent; for Charles was preparing to enter Scotland, having refused to join Ormond.

loitered at Liverpool, extracting money from his neighbours, of which the unpaid bond, 30th September, 1649, given in the *Norris Papers*, is a specimen. Cromwell had been in Ireland four months; and when we have read in the *Perfect Diurnal*, June 26th, July 7th, and December 10th, of the despatch of Colonel Moore's soldiers from Liverpool, we there meet with the following letter, without address:

"Sir,

"After a dangerous voyage, I thank God I am safe arrived here. For newes, on Saturday last, a part of my regiment, with one hundred of the governor's, relieved Killum Mack Caricke. The enemy thinking we had been careless, and not guarded a passe fort at the castle, sent a small party hoping to retard our return; but we gave them sech an unlookt for salute, that they betook themselves to a wood. Major Stanley, governor of Trim, hath taken in Drunmer Castle, a hold formerly of the Tornes, but will much inlarge our quarters. Sir Charles Coote hath totally routed the Lord of Ardes, and Claneboys, with George Munroe, tooke all their armes, ammunition, bagge, and baggage, killed Col. Henderson, with fourteen or more, tooke Col. Hambleton and most of the foot officers; many of their horsemen escaped, leaving their horses, and betaking themselves to their grandmother, a bogge; we lost but one corporall, and three souldiers, thus in haste I rest,

"Sir, your assured friend to serve you,

"Dublin, Dec. 13, 1649." "JOHN MOORE."

Perfect Diurnall, December 24, 1649.

In those days, armies were supposed to rest from their labours during the winter; and Cromwell, who was about Cork, only taking seven weeks for this purpose, and recommencing on February 15th, 1649–50, is mentioned as a proof of his activity. The flux, or fever, was rife in Ireland, and in November, 1649, Michael Jones, warmly eulogised by Cromwell, died. The cruelty which possessed the English on Irish ground, also attacked Jones; for, on August 5th, 1649, he is said to have hanged a deserter, a cornet, "his own sister's son," in the market place at Dublin, (*Moderate Messenger*, 1649.)

Early in May, colonels Reynolds and Moore marched from Dublin to form the siege of Tecroghan in Meath, defended by "Colonel Mary," as the spirited wife of Sir Luke Fitzgerald, who maintained this place until July, is called by the Irish; (Whitlocke.) We should greatly desire to see a history of this siege; the place was not, as Cox states, easily taken, Ireton, with his army, being finally obliged to take a part. Castlehaven, although there, is too much occupied with his own dexterity in throwing in relief, or, as he says, "making a bussel," to inform us of this second Lady Derby, for thus Lingard styles Lady Fitzgerald, and his account is taken from Whitlocke's meagre notices. The plague was now raging throughout Ireland, two hundred dying every day in Dublin, besides the flux and fever securing their share of victims. In the *Prefect Diurnal*, June 17th to June 24th, 1650, and in the *Impartial Scout*, June 22nd, 1650, Moore's death is noticed in the same terms: "Colonel Moore is dead of a plurisie

(some say of a feaver)." In the former, the authority is a letter from Dublin, of the date June 12th, 1650.*

On July 23rd, 1651, the petition of Richard Worsley, administrator of Colonel John Moore, with the will of the said colonel annexed, on behalf of the children, was read in the Commons. Orders were made for the verification of Moore's accounts as to the English and Irish services, and it was further directed that, out of the money discovered by

* That the extreme frequency of occurrence of the name of Moore is very embarrassing to one who seeks to set apart the acts of an individual of that name, we know to our cost. Still he must be a great lover of "historic doubts," who would assign to any other than John Moore the assisting Reynolds to form the siege of Tecroghan. Whitlocke says, May 25, 1650, "that C. Moore and C. Reynolds besieged Tecroghan." We are acquainted with no officer of the name, but the Bank Hall Moore, of sufficient rank to be associated with Reynolds, and indeed at this time of no other Moore in Ireland, a colonel in the Parliament service. Nicolas (of Gaunt Castle,) late major, brought over a portion of Okey's horse, and commanded them as lieutenant-colonel. We do not see his name as of the garrison of Dublin, nor as being near that city, and he was probably with Cromwell in Munster. The siege of Tecroghan was the work of the Dublin soldiers, and Whitlocke says, May 31st, "that C. Reynolds was set down before Tecroghan, where C. Hewson met him." The latter was the governor of Dublin. Moore's name connected on May 25th with the siege, is not repeated May 31st. Was he already ill? and did he remain in Dublin, only being designed for the service? Garret Moore has been suggested as a colonel in Ireland at this period, but surely it is not pretended that the Drogheda Moores were with the Parliament. As to Col. Moore's death, it can be shewn that all of the name of whom we have any account, but John, were living subsequently to 1650, and we know he must have died about that time. Besides we find no mention of him between June 1650, and July 1651, when his administrator appears.

Colonel Moore, such proportions as were granted him should be paid Richard Worsley. This probably refers to the order given 16th February, 1647. On 2nd March, 1651, £612 18s. 2d. is found due to Moore; and it is resolved that, in satisfaction of this sum, lands of the yearly value of £120 shall be settled upon Edward Moore, son of Colonel Moore.

The declaration of Edward Moore, in 1668, that he had been master of his estate nineteen years, will fix the colonel's death to have occurred early in 1650. Edward further complains that, being under age at the time of his father's death, his interests had been neglected. We find, however, October 22nd, 1656, that he was of age, and borrowing money. The colonel died in bad circumstances; he left a debt of £10,000; the old hall was leased by his son, and other painful sacrifices made; and referring to these, Edward "hopes in God" that his son may never "have the same cause of extremity." As to the sums voted by parliament, they were purely imaginary; and when the colonel died, the power of obtaining anything for his services perished also. For several years every species of property was re-examined, and the actions of rich men carefully reviewed, in order to make delinquents, and to secure sequestrations:

"Cum Pansa eripiat quicquid tibi Natta reliquit."

On October 22nd, 1656, Moore borrowed £300, and on 27th September, 1657, Bank-hall was pledged for the debt: on the 7th of June, 1659, Sir William Fenwick received the debt and security. The circumstances were

all strange: a regicide's son, under Cromwell, in desperate circumstances, and relieved by a delinquent in the highest degree, "a recusant!" On 27th June, 1659, Bank-hall was absolutely assigned to Fenwick, and a power of attorney executed (which is now before us), dated 6th November, 1660, by which the creditor's representatives take possession; evidently the father-in-law, saving his daughter's husband from the consequences of Charles's return. Cromwell's reign did not promote gaiety; the current of life, and the amusements of the people, were interfered with. Worsley, in 1655, writes: "We find that alehouses bring forth all manner of wickedness, we have ordered at least two hundred to be thrown down in Blackburn hundred;" and in the same year, this official again sends word, "There being a horse race appointed in this county the last week, being informed of it, I sent a party of the troop. They apprehended the chief actors, and they took the horses, which I hear, since I came to Manchester, are still in custody. I desire your direction what to do with both."

Edward Moore married Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Fenwick, of Meldon in Northumberland. It was in every way a politic union; and, what is remarkable, also a happy one. In the Act of Oblivion, 12 Car. II., c. 11, s. 28, the property of John Moore, with those of Cromwell and others, is left to be dealt with by another act. In that other act, 12 Car. II., c. 30, Moore's name does not occur; and the cause of the omission is here given by Edward Moore, with expressions of gratitude towards his wife, which

are both natural and pleasing.* Moore seems to have read theology with a view of becoming a Roman Catholic, but his convictions or prejudices were too strong; and his wife and himself probably maintained different creeds. He recommends Laud and Baxter to his son, somewhat irreconcilable teachers; but Moore's love of religion reminds us of Voltaire's philanthropist, Qu'il aimait les Tartares pour être dispensé d'aimer ses voisins. We should always remember that until after the act of uniformity, the Church of England, and especially in the remote diocese of Chester, could hardly be said to exist. The long correspondence in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* shows how completely the Puritans then ruled; and Chadderton and Bridgman were bishops strongly of that party. It is true that Lord Derby said, "I do die a dutiful member of the Church of England," and so, no doubt, he believed; yet Herle, the Coryphœus of Presbyterianism, owed his rise to Lord Derby, and before he presided at Westminster, or went to fraternize in Scotland, had been made rector of Winwick.

Newcome speaks of the use of the surplice in Manchester Church, after the Restoration, as a sight which had not before been witnessed. Liverpool in 1612, by a special resolution of the corporation, induced their "clerk" to wear this vestment.

* Mrs. Dorothy was probably dead in 1667–8, and Edward Moore married to Mrs. Bloodworth, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bloodworth, knight, set down in the Royal Oak list as worth £3000 per ann., and lord-mayor the year of the fire, when his foolish proceedings are subject of strong remark by Pepys.

The Fenwicks procured the offer of a baronetcy for Edward Moore in 1660; it had nearly been granted 1661; but the monstrous nature of the proposal to ennoble the son of a regicide, interposed, if not to the mind of the indolent monarch, at least to that of some of his advisers, and it was 1675 before it was conferred. Edward Moore enjoyed the dignity three years, and died 1678, leaving Sir Cleave Moore his heir, of whom we had occasion in the Norris papers to make frequent mention.

The main value of the MS. is its delineation of that great upheaving, and fermentation, of requirements, and of endeavours to satisfy them, out of which modern Liverpool suddenly started up the third town of England in respect to trade, as Defoe describes it, only thirty-seven years after this Rental was written. We cannot, however, find that Edward Moore appreciated his position; the daring and wealthy merchants, by whom he is surrounded, (all fit successors of Humphrey Brooke, that brave old Liverpool mariner, who discovered the Armada leaving the shores of Spain, and first told the news to Drake, Frobisher, and Howard,) these merchants, because they desired not to be represented by one who viewed the wants of a great trader with positive alarm, and would rather build three cottages for as many serfs, than see warehouses, and yards, made on his land by those who would not grind at his mill, nor pay him boons, rent hens, shearing, &c., nor vote for him, are the objects of his most bitter denunciations. It required no Cumœan Sibyl to foretell the fate of this leader, and that of his unwilling com-

panions. Another generation and the Moore obstruction was overcome; for one of those stone buildings, which in 1673 moved Blome's admiration, ten arose; the town had emancipated itself, and Moores, Molyneuxes, and Crosses, were made to yield to the not very hard condition of partaking in the wealth of the town, by assisting towards its prosperity. Throughout this MS. Moore appears in such a state of bewilderment, that it is difficult to say whether he addressed himself to his son for the purpose of assisting him in improving the property, or in order to secure the gratification of his revengeful purposes when he should be dead.

Fifty years later, and the family of Moore, in the person of Edward's son, had ceased to possess land in Liverpool and its neighbourhood. Every neighbouring royalist, however, continued in the possession of his estate; and, even the least superstitious might remark, on the certain punishment with which God visits the crime of murder, though forgiven by earthly tribunals, thus in the second generation depriving the family of a regicide of their ancestral home,

> ——— and denounc'd
> To them, and to their progeny, from thence
> Perpetual banishment.

We cannot conclude without expressing the repeated obligations we have been under to JAMES CROSSLEY, ESQ., who so efficiently superintends the proceedings of the CHETHAM SOCIETY, for the advice and assistance which he has afforded us, whilst editing both the Norris Papers and the Moore

Rental. We have also to thank Mr. JONES, the librarian of CHETHAM COLLEGE, for making known to us recent and, for our purpose, very important acquisitions to that library; Mr. GIBSON, the Incumbent of Garston, for the copy of Dr. Norris's epitaph; and Mr. THOMAS KAYE, the spirited proprietor of that most excellent book, *The Liverpool Guide*, for his contribution of Okill's map of that town.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE MOORE RENTAL.

O Lord my God, I do humbly implore thy assistance and protection of me; this book and all thou hast bestowed upon me: to preserve us out of the hands of our enemies; to thy honour, the great good of our family, and the preservation of our poor souls.
Amen: Amen:
Amen.

Edw. Moore.

Bankhall,
St. Matthew's Day, 24th Feb. 1667.

Before honour is humility. — Prov. xv. 33.
Let your love be without dissimulation. — Rom. xii. 9.
Whoso rewards evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house. — Prov. xvii. 13.
Recompense to none evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of the Lord. — Rom. xii. 17.
Vengeance is mine; I will repay it, saith the Lord. — Rom. xii. 19.

For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil. — 1 Peter iii. 12.

Remember: The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water: therefore leave off contention, before it be meddled with. — Prov. xvii. 14.

If it be possible, so much as in you lies, live peaceably with all men. — Rom. xii. 18.

Lord Jesus, grant that I and mine may observe the several divine rules above said.

Edw. Moore.

And whoever thou art, that opens this Book, know that it is by Christ Jesus' permission; or else thou couldst have no power here: therefore as thou art a Christian, and wilt answer me in another world, do this my endeavour no harm; neither wrong me nor my children by the knowledge of it; for the time will come (and that very shortly) that I shall see thee face to face, to give an account of it.

I was; thou art; take it from me: what I am now, thou suddenly shalt be.

Experience having taught me that everything corrupts:
Yea, that very eye which now reads these truths shall not be excepted.

Edw. Moore.

Here followeth several observations to my son and heir, WILLIAM MOORE: Lord Jesu, keep him and grant him grace to observe them, to God's honour and the comfort of his poor soul. Amen: Amen: Amen.

U thic hostis evanescat,
Ut infirmus convalescat,
Tu virtutem vigilandi,
Des infirmo, des orandi.

EDW. MOORE.

My son William, before thou presume to read these, humbly implore Christ Jesus' assistance for the true performance of them, in giving all honour and glory to God Almighty, good will to thy neighbour, and humility to thyself, which is the daily prayer of thy careful father.

EDW. MOORE, 16th August, 1663.

First, to know your duty to God, read his Book with reverence; and in all things doubtful take fixation from the learned interpretation of the Christian churches in all ages, rather than rely on your own judgment: for Novatian, Donatus, and Arius, with many other known heretics, for learning were a thousand times before thee, yet, relying on their own wits, ran into many damnable and gross heresies. Duty to God.

If you ask me what Christian churches I mean, I shall refer you to Vincentius Lirinensis, in his treatise of the antiquity of the Catholic faith;* Mr. Baxter's Successive Visibility of the Church,

* See a note on Vincentius Lirinensis, or Lirenensis, who died before A.D. 450, in Soame's *Mosheim*, vol. i. p. 453, edit. 1841. The *Commonitory*, the only work

and his Key for Catholics;* the first will let you know what the Catholic faith is, the second will prove the Protestant of that faith, the third lays open the fopperies of all such as hold a contrary opinion. But remember, when once you enter upon a book, let nothing hinder till you read it all. Read likewise my uncle Chisnell's Catholic History,† where many pretty things of religion are neatly and concisely digested. Give not yourself to read books of controversies; it is a study you shall never be satisfied in, many learned men making the strains of their own wit matters of religion, each writing according to his interest, by which they make it a nose of wax to serve their own ends; the whole world, in truth, being but a great cheat. Therefore let the Holy Scriptures be your guide, wherein all things necessary for salvation are most plainly set forth, so that, with God's blessing, he that runs may read. And for deep and dark sayings therein, which nothing tend to matters of faith, or where you find the scriptures silent, or very dubious in obscure terms, — there be not you too inquisitive, lest you be answered as St. Austen answered a busy fellow who desired to know (since it was but so few years that the world was created) what might God Almighty be doing before? To which the holy man replied, He was making hell for such busy inquisitors as he was.

Protestant is the Catholic Faith.

Books to prove it.

Read not Controversy.

Scripture your guide.

Scriptures silent.

The reason of my desire for your not reading many books of controversy, I having been in that labyrinth, but, blessed be God, with

Study not Controversy.

remaining of Vincent, had been translated, and published in 1651. It was much valued by the Protestants as decisive against the claims of being a universal church made by the Roman Catholics. It has since been again published at Oxford, in 1836.

* "The Key for Catholics, opening the jugling of the Jesuits," 4to; printed in 1659; and, in the same year, Baxter also published "The Successive Visibility of the Church, of which the Protestants are the soundest members," against Mr. William Johnson. (Calamy's *Life*, vol. i. p. 414.)

† Chisenhall of Chisenhall, near Wigan, a Lancashire Esquire, of small estate, who distinguished himself as a captain at the siege of Lathom House, and afterwards wrote a book against the Roman Catholics. It is noticed in the *Civil War Tracts*, (Chetham Society.) This Chisenhall is denominated uncle, and cousin, by Moore, and the connexion was probably through the Rigbys, who resided near Wigan. Chisenhall was knighted by Charles the Second.

much care, trouble, and pains, am come safe out, which may be as so many landmarks to your avoiding that danger. It is true, upon some accounts, I took the liberty, as it were, to divest myself of that religion I was born and educated in, for to search without partiality whether the papist, or it, were most orthodox; in progress of which I did not only converse with many learned men on both sides, viz. John Hount, a famous Franciscan priest, Phill. Grey, Will. Norrise, John Evers, and Mr. Kerton a Jesuit, but read several great volumes, more tedious than I hope your wisdom will permit. And in the end I find the Reformed Catholic, of England, is the truest and most Christian religion, the nearest agreeing to the three first centuries, having nothing of design but mere and nakedly serving of the true God in a right way. And on the other hand, I find the papist religion (I mean of most of the controverted points) to be patched and made up for the benefit, honour, and livelihood of the clergy; which makes it earthly and saturnine, participating of the drosses of merit, images, indulgences, and helping souls out of purgatory, (provided the body, before its departure, bequeathed to such a priest, or such an order, such a legacy as will repay their lost labour and time spent in such a fruitless work, — else, no penny, no paternoster;) which practices convict her of so much worldly respects, as she stands condemned by all but such as are betrayed to her devotion through ignorance, profit, or honour, on the one hand, or chained to her obedience by the iron Inquisition on the other hand.

Protestant Religion.

The dross of Popery.

If you would see this verified, read John Wickliffe, John Jewell, Doctor Rennalls, [Reynolds,] Humfryes, and Whitaker, five of the greatest divines of England:— vid. Bishop Laud's conference with Fisher the Jesuit, a most excellent book, and Mr. Baxter's books aforesaid, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.*

Books to read.

Famous reformed Catholics.

* The religion of Edward Moore was remarkable. The great benefits he derived from the Roman Catholics, and the losses he had sustained from his father, inclined him "to divest himself of his religion." This he could not altogether achieve, and so he adopted the Church of England, as a mean between two extremes. Moore dates his preface on St. Matthew's day, recommends the use of traditions, and glosses and praises Laud; on the other hand he disavows Roman Catholicism

Bred a scholar.

To the University.

I would have you by all means bred a scholar; then to the university, where great care is to be for an honest, able, and godly tutor to instruct you aright in your religion, and so to establish you therein that the world, flesh, and the devil shall not be able to remove you; then go on courageously through the pilgrimage of this life, there being a blessing annexed by the express words of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33: Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

What degree I would have you entered, and of what University and College.

When you go to the university, let it be Oxford rather than Cambridge, for two reasons; first, because Oxford is, by reason of the situation, far the better air, and in Brazennose* College there are many

and admires Baxter. It was said of Harley, that his daily symposium was enlivened by the presence of a High Church and a Puritan divine; that of Moore was attended by probably two more opposite theologians. Still the speculative divinity of the Liverpool magnate was intelligible and pure, compared to his morality. He prefaces his book with excellent texts enforcing forgiveness of injuries, but the body of the work is devoted to the perpetuation of malice and hatred. In gathering these texts, Moore must have been guided by some instinct, for they have a close application to his own deficiencies, yet in no way remedying them. He seems perfectly aware of this inconsistency, and anticipates criticism by summoning his commentator to meet him presently face to face. We trust that, in defying this summons, we may be more fortunate than James the Fourth when similarly called upon.

* Brasennose, which, Sorbiere says, had upon its gate the effigy of Duns Scotus's nose, is the Lancashire college, for the reasons Moore assigns. Dodd says, that Vivian, younger son of Sir Richard Molyneux, was sent there, and committed to the care of "Samuel Ratcliffe, a noted Puritan," (Walker, in "*The Sufferings*," &c., gives a different character of this spirited head of the college,) but the youth resumed the Roman Catholic religion when he left Oxford. As to the comparative wholesomeness of situation, we think neither place has much to boast of. "Camus reverend Sire," with its "Luci, loci paludosi," has an aguish reputation, even since Cromwell and his fellow Commissioners drained the fens. The vexed question, as to the superiority of either University, Moore wisely avoids; perhaps, like most Englishmen, he regarded both with gratitude. We, laudatores temporis acti, remember that Sir Philip Sidney was of Oxford and Cambridge, and believe that Dryden's well known lines, denominating the former Athens, and the latter Thebes, are more sarcastic than just.

The whole of Moore's remarks on Oxford had been, as might be supposed, written for him. This he betrays, by finally copying the letter, and using the third person towards his son, "his tutor," "his books," &c.

peculiar privileges in favour of Lancashire men, which may be very advantageous for younger brothers, or such as must depend on their fortunes. I would not have you entered a fellow commoner, that being too high, and usually such as are so entered make little advantage there other than spend their moneys and come home less wise than they went. But I would have you entered a battler, which is the mean betwixt a fellow commoner and a servitor in this place. Being entered a BATTLER, thirty pounds sterling per annum will very well maintain you, as I shall thereafter give a particular of each charge to a penny: viz. four pounds for caution money to the College, for which the principal will give you a note under his hand to repay when you go from the College; five shillings for your entrance, paid to the vice-principal; six shillings and eightpence for entrance in the bursar's book; and two shillings and sixpence to the servants; and seven shillings for matriculation in the university, if he be the eldest son of an esquire, not else; this must be paid at your first coming. Then you must have a gown, of which you had best buy some old one — will serve as well, if not better than a new one.* Be sure you let this tutor know you will not allow him to battle† above £3 a quarter. To the laundress, three shillings per quarter; to the bed maker one shilling and sixpence a quarter; chamber rent five shillings a quarter; barber one shilling and sixpence a quarter; tuition, for your tutor, as you are but a battler, is fifteen shillings a quarter; shoe maker three shillings and sixpence a quarter; hire of your bed two shillings and sixpence a quarter; I mean sheets and all. In all, this makes four pounds twelve shillings a quarter, besides his clothes and his books. For cloth for your clothes, the best way is to buy them in the country. Remember that your cloth or

What the charge will be. A particular thereof.

* A Freshman and a new gown were ever eschewed. Bishop Earle says, 1628, "The two marks of his seniority is the bare velvet of his gown, and his proficiency at tennis, where when he can once play a set, he is a fresh man no more.

† "Expenses for provisions in the University; a word probably derived from the Saxon Tœlan, Telan, or Tellan, numerare, computare; the initial particle "be," as is very often the case, being added." — Note to Aubrey's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 119. The word "battles" is still in common use at Oxford, but the "battler" is now better known as the "commoner." The word is not used at Cambridge.

stuff must either be black, or of a sad dark colour, no others being there worn, except by noblemen's sons. Remember you pay at every quarter's end, and then not without his tutor's letter, and an exact account of what that quarter came to; by which you may see how it rises or falls, and whether your son be a good husband or not. Let the tutor have a most strict hand over him; — to be careful of your company, for many times young men are utterly undone by their company.

ANNO DOMINI 1667.

A TRUE, just, and exact Rental, which I, Edw. Moore, shall allege to be true, of all such yearly old Rent, (or Rent of assise, as we call it in Lancashire,) with chief and fee-farm Rents, as are due and payable in the present year, at Our Lady Day, and Michaelmas, 1667, unto me, Edw. Moore, son and heir of Colonel John Moore, deceased, late vice-admiral of the Irish sea; payable out of all the towns and places hereafter following: together with the fines (as near as I can judge) those several tenements are worth, if clear out of lease; what improvements may be made in several places, to the great advantage of your estate; what lives are at present in each tenement; what rents together with hens, geese, with other bonds, suit, or services, are paid or done; with several remarkable observations, by experience I have found, much to the ease or advantage of you, my son, William Moore, to whom, with God's permission, I intend this following particular, humbly imploring God Almighty's assistance that you may make an honest livelihood thereon; to God's honour, the good of your neighbour and tenants, and the comfort of your own soul. Amen: Lord Jesus. Amen: Amen: Amen.

IMPRIMIS, I will begin with LEVERPOOLL.

In this town was your ancient house, formerly called More Hall, together with the street it stood in. Of this mansion I find your ancestors possessed time out of mind, most of all your deeds for your land and houses there being without date. Only one I find of John de la More, son of John de Mora, dated anno Domini 1200, and one other deed from John of Gaunt to Thomas de la More, with many great and large privileges belonging; the most of which are now claimed by the family of the Lord Mullinex of Sefton, by a pretended purchase from the Londoners, they having it amongst other things pawned by King James. Likewise your ancestors formerly had the ferry boats, butlerage, and other perquisites which now the Mullinexes have by lease from the crown, (for two lives, this Lord and his son.) There be, besides all this, many ancient and honourable grants from others of the kings of England and dukes of Lancaster to your ancestors, concerning things in this town, only as to privileges; for as to the deeds of your lands here, they are all, or most, as I said before, without date. To which I refer you particularly to view, and only take what follows by way of Rental, as promised, above said.

OLD HALL STREET.*

ANDOW, THOMAS,†

Now tenant for the Old Hall, never leased this many hundred years before, but always kept for a jointure house, I mean since Bank Hall was built. The great debt my father left me in,

* Old Hall Street is the vicus sceleratus of Liverpool. Here Caryl, afterwards Lord Molyneux, indulged his propensity for slaying Roundheads; and to no other place can we assign Rupert's entrance, which is charged to Colonel John Moore's treachery.

† Andow is Thomas Ayndoe, mayor in 1665. For the other names we refer to

being near ten thousand pounds, (as I shall in some part of this book give you an exact particular of,) forced me to raise some money by leasing it. Therefore I shall set no value on this, hoping in God, whenever it falls out of lease, you will never have the same cause of extremity to lease it again as I had. Only this you may remember, that the Parlor-hey will score eight beasts at near forty shillings a cow-gate, and the Barn-hey and the house worth twenty pounds per annum. If ever this falls in, and trading as good as now, you may very well make a street; the front of the houses on the west side, standing towards the lane, goes into the town field; and the front of the houses in the Barn-hey to face the other. Then you may allow to each house, on both sides, large back sides, keeping a good part for a garden and out building, together with other necessaries to the Old Hall; or, if you please, take good advice whether it be not better to cut a street through the Parlor-hey to the river, which might be no steeper than the Chapel street, taking it by degrees away. Make your leases according to my new leases in Moore street — without boons, otherwise they will not build. Be careful of the clause to grind at your mill; it is a great thing to your estate, and see your tenants observe it well. Take this notice from me: what you expect your tenants should do, let them be well bound to in their leases; otherwise riches and pride is so predominant over them in this town, together with a perfect antipathy they have against all gentlemen — much more your family, in regard they know your interest is always able to curb them, — I know this by experience, that they are the most perfidious knaves to their landlords in all England; therefore I charge you, in the name of God, never to trust them. They have deceived me twice, even to the ruin of my name and family, had not God in mercy saved me; though there was none at the same time could profess more kindness to me than they did, and acknowlege in their very own memories what great patrons my father and grandfather was to the town and them in particular. Yet when it

the list of mayors and bailiffs given. Baly Marsh, Baly Bushell, &c., are so designated because they had been, or were, bailiffs; the latter served for 1667–8, which shows that 1663 was not the true date of the Rental.

came to that, as with but their vote would have done me five thou sand pounds' worth of good, and them no harm, they most inhumanly denied me, and that two several times in a year's distance betwixt them, when inevitably their voting against me might have been the utter extirpation of me and mine out of Lancashire; and I believe, had they thought it would not have taken that effect, they would then have been for me.*

Therefore, since God hath by me forewarned you, have a care you never trust them; for there is no such thing as truth or honesty in such mercenary fellows, but what tends to their own ends. And this observe as a general rule, civility will do no good, but make them contemn you for a kind fool. And likewise observe for a certain rule, although you be never so great enemies, yet, if you be but a justice, and have power in the country, or once mayor of the town, they will be like spaniels at your feet. Thus the old proverb is verified: a little fear is worth a great deal of love. In a word, trust them not, lest you may find by sad experience what I have here forewarned you of, which God in mercy divert; for such a nest of rogues were never educated in one town of that bigness. I shall endeavour to give you hereafter a character of each particular man; at present you have to deal with all that are my tenants. Here are several other directions of things in this town, but take them in course; and first as to this Mr. Andow. In the name of God be careful of him, for he is one of the lurkingest knaves in all the town; he is worse than my pen can express; and when he makes the greatest show of friendship then he hath the most deceit at heart. This was one of the leading men, underhand, against me, in all votes, either for parliament man or mayor; this is the man that caused my mill horses to be arrested for a ley, laid by the mayor and others, for the chapel, whereupon I replevied them, and would stand suit: by which I find that you are not obliged, in the common laws, to repair the chapel, without it were

* Quum cœpit quassata domus subsidere, partes
In proclinatas omne recumbit onus.
Ovid: *Trist.*

either the parish church, or you was an inhabitant in the town; but if they lay you in the general amongst the foreign freemen, provided it be in reason, equally as others, then if you be a freeman of the town, you are bound by your oath to contribute proportionably. But besides, remember, for your chapel, (the seat you sit in is so called,) and for the servants' seat, you must repair the glass windows, the forms, and flags, with all things else belonging to them, of your own charges. And remember, all the compass within them is your ancient burial place, and so hath been for many hundred years, there never being any but your kindred of blood and name there interred. And remember you never pay penny to the churchwardens for breaking ground within either of those seats; neither permit any but your family to be buried there; nor suffer any to sit there but such as is by your permission. In my time, my grandmother, my sister Jane, my brother Alexander, and my uncle Robert Moore's wife, and Edw. Moore, and another of my sons who died before he was christened, were buried there, and I hope in God I shall lie there in rest amongst my ancestors. I charge your great care of this burial place, it being none of the least mercies God bestows when he permits you in peace to be interred in the sepulchre of your ancestors. And truly, so long as God is pleased to bestow this burial place upon me I value it at the price of the best lordship I have; since, if I enjoyed all, at last nothing will remain to me but a small room to enclose my aged limbs, where I hope to remain in rest from all the troubles and cares of this world, it being an infringement to the privileges of nature to hinder the repose of the dead. This being a convenient place to give a farther instruction concerning the chapel, both where I sit myself, and servants, to hear divine service in Liverpool church, know that you must maintain it with glass, flags, doors, seats, and all other materials whatsoever; otherwise the bishop and the ordinary may remove you, or order others to sit with you, it being not sufficient for you to prescribe to it, though it is five hundred years that none have there sat to hear divine service, or buried there, but your ancestors, if you do not repair it. But those prescriptions, with repairing it, make it absolutely yours in despite of the ordinary. Vide a small book

named Directions for the Study of the Law, (Studii Legalis Ratio, fo. 145); or vide Crook, p. 367. Remember, if ever it lie in your power, to buy of his grandchild, young Mr. Sherwin, the estate he bought of my cousin Lea of Lime, lying in this town. He gave but four hundred pounds; but if you had it for a thousand, it were well bought. There are some directions of things in this town at the end of this Rental; read and observe them well.

In this house there is lives, two; Mrs. Katherine Sherwine, widow to Captain Sherwine, and her son Thomas; two hens at Easter, and two days' shearing. Rent, 13s. 4d.

Livesey, Rich.

Hath a lease of the Kiln-hey; but vide Livesey in the Chapel street.

Higginson, John,

A good honest man; use his children well. In this street he hath a barn and a shippon, which formerly were two houses, and whenever they come out of lease it were good they were so again, it being not your interest to turn dwelling houses into barns. Besides, I charge you, never let one tenant have above one house, for that very thing hath much lessened my interest; for if once they be your tenants for one house, they will do as much for you as if they had twenty. But I charge you keep this maxim, that none may know it but God and yourself. Besides, I find by experience, those that have so many houses never do half their boons or pay all their hens, but are always grumbling; neither will one in twenty be able to give you near the fine proportionable for many houses as they will do for one, and twenty tenants makes you more popular than one. There is, in this lease, seven lands in the town field, and two good back sides; lease them to two several men, and they will easily give you a hundred and thirty pounds fine. For the lands in the field, vide Liverpool directions at the end of this Rental.

In this is lives, two; Geo. Higginson and John, his two sons; hens, five, at Christmas; five days' shearing; his old rent, £1 0s. 8d. (Here is room to build a good house before the shippon, to the street.)

LORTING, JOHN,*

A sour dog fellow, yet one who loves me and my family; use him and his well: only this remember, he hath no children of his own, so at his death the house comes clear. He hath in this lease what may well be made three several dwellings; and fail not to part them whenever you fine them; for if you lease them to several, they will, with the ten lands in the field, give you at least a hundred and fifty pounds, though his fine was but fifty pounds and to build one of these houses, which cost him fifty pounds more. I was at that time in great want of money; the Lord grant that I nor mine may never be in the like want again. Lives, three, — himself, Joan his wife, Elizabeth Sodon, spinster, daughter of the said Joan; three hens at Easter; old rent, 6s. 8d.

SANDIFORD, ——

Hath of late built a barn at the end of John Lorting's; upon which stood formerly a barn, late Rose's, out of which I should have yearly —— shillings, as may appear by Rose's answer upon oath; but I claim the inheritance of the soil, and so refuse the rent. This was purchased from Mr. Will. Moore of Manchester: in the same deed my man Jonathan's house and the Pole house are: vide the deed, and Rose's answer.

* The Lurtins served most of the Liverpool public offices during the time of Cromwell and Charles II. In 1760 John Lurtin paid £5 per annum for the Castle field. In 1761 Henry Lurtin was a merchant at Londonderry. There existed a John Lurtin in Liverpool in 1790.

Livesey, Rich.,

Hath the Kiln-hey — I mean his children, for he is dead; the front of which field is for many roods to the street, so that I am confident, allowing back sides, you may have it all built with good houses, and keep convenient room sufficient for out-houses and other necessaries for the Old Hall, which out-houses were pulled down when Prince Rupert took Liverpool, Whitsuntide, 1644, putting all to the sword for many hours, giving no quarter; where Caryl, that is now Lord Mullinex, killed seven or eight poor men with his own hands: good Lord, deliver us from the cruelty of bloodthirsty papists. Amen.

Note.—The street itself, from the Old Hall into the fields which go between the Parlor-hey and the Barn-hey, is your own land, for these two fields were, till Henry VIII.'s time, all one; and then one of your ancestors permitted that way; but with a covenant that, if ever any of his heirs should dislike it, then to stop it up; vide the deed itself concerning: ———

Note. — In this street, if you build along the front of the Kiln-hey and so on the fronts of the Barn-hey and Parlor-hey, which you may make to the street till you come into the town field, there will be room for at least thirty houses, and allow each of them good back sides. Remember you reserve all necessaries for your mansion house, the Old Hall, formerly called More Hall.

CHAPEL STREET.

Horton, Widow,

Now wife of Mr. Ward. Whenever this falls out of lease, you may make your best advantage of it; Mr. Horton, who built the house, never had any children, neither doth any of his relations live in these parts; — it will give a hundred and fifty pounds fine for three lives. Remember to build a wall all along the bank side till you come to the town field; otherwise, in time, I am afraid

the sea will wear away the whole bank. For my great-grandfather, William Moore, made a lease of the bank to one Gogney for ten pounds fine and five shillings per annum rent; my grandfather, Edw. Moore, set it to one Pemberton for thirty shillings a year; and now it is so much worn away with the sea that I cannot make five shillings a year of it. When you make a wall, it need not be above two yards high and two feet thick; then fill the earth to the back of it: — this wall will cost about ninety pounds at the most. If it be possible, get warehouses or dwelling houses built all along the wall, and make a street to go up in the very middle of it through to the north of the Old Hall. This is a project, if God bless the town, may be possible.

Note: that from the Chapel street to the town field the whole breadth thereof, down to low water mark, is your inheritance, by special grant from K. Charles II., under the broad seal of England, to Edw. Lord Brabazon, earl of Meath, feoffee in trust for your mother.* Therefore let none get stones there without your consent,

* In the printed "Case for making a dock at Leverpoole," (circa 1709,) we read: "In the harbour of Leverpoole the sea or tide flows about five and a half hours, and ebbs about six and a half hours. In spring tides it rises above thirty feet, and at the lowest neaps about fifteen feet. The distance between high and low water mark, against the town side, between three and four hundred yards. Currents of tides, both ebb and flood, very strong and rapid, especially at spring tides, during high winds, and when there are freshes. The harbor open and exposed, and the shipping either lies on the ground between high and low water mark, which is rock covered with thin sand, or else ride afloat in the channel, or current of the tide, and are often driven from their anchors and wrecked against the town side. The cost of a dock estimated at £10,000, to be repaid by a charge of fourpence per ton on the coasting vessels, inwards and outwards, not making a positive charge on the cheese of above twopence per ton, (and the cheese factors solely opposed the projected dock,) but a larger duty would be required from the foreign trade. The calculation was, on an average of the trade for the last three years, that £600 per annum would be realized. The dock might serve for graving and careening, and no dock of this kind existed nearer than Plymouth. The queen's ships to be received gratuitously."

The cheesemongers' two papers of objections, and their case, with the Liverpool rejoinder, are to be found in the Chetham College Library, at Manchester.

The act for the old dock was procured 8 Anne, and was enlarged 3 George I. and 11 George II.

for two reasons; the first, for that it is the cause of wasting the bank away; and the other reason is, whenever please God you do make a wall, it will be necessary either to build it of that stone, or at least to back it with that stone. This house of Mrs. Horton's is in lease for her own life and twenty-one years after. May be you may make two hundred pounds fine, if you be discreet, in regard there is no ancient tenant to it.

She pays six gallons of white wine a year, or twenty shillings in lieu thereof. Rent, £1.

LANCLET, (LANCELOT,) THOMAS.

A drunken, idle fellow: to this house he hath a fine large croft on the back side. If I could have bought him out of it, there was one would have laid out four hundred pounds on a dwelling house and other necessaries, — for in all Liverpool, so near the water side, there is none hath so much room on the back side. Remember, there is room to build several houses between this house and the street, down to Mrs. Horton's house; these may be distinct houses of themselves. I have, under his hand and seal, liberty to build now if I please (vide his contract with me); but if it be not built before it come out of lease, be very careful how you lease it again, but divide it as I say. This fellow and his wife are two such idle people that they scarce ever pay me either rent or hens. Here belong to this house fish yards and a free fishing, which our ancestors have had above four hundred years, as you may see by the original grant. If any wise body had these fish yards, might much advantage be made of them; they used to maintain your ancestors' family with fish three days a week, when they were above thirty in a family, and lived at the Old Hall. Remember you have liberty to admit others to set fish-guards, notwithstanding this lease to him, provided you do not take the very places where his now stand, (vide his lease.) This house will give you thirty pounds fine, and only allow a little garden to it on the back side, and £1 rent; besides, you may build three houses fronting to the street, at ten shillings old

rent apiece and three rent hens apiece: and you may build on the water side, and lay the remainder of the croft to make them back sides. But remember you prejudice not the intended street from the water side through the Parlor-hey, (vide Mr. Andow's directions.) Be very careful how you lease this place; here are many conveniences belong to it. If you could buy the Walnut-tree hey, which at present Mr. Andow hath as tenant to Mr. Fazakerley, it might, peradventure, help you in back sides for your street from the water side. Upon this place you have thirty pounds fine for the old house, with a little garden, and old rent, and three houses more twenty shillings apiece rent, (and for these fines let them build,) and nine hens. At present this fellow pays only thirty pounds fine, and all other boons as the old tenants do, three days' shearing, and three rent hens; and old rent, £1.

Sea Bank,

From Mrs. Horton's to the town-field, is all yours, and so the whole breadth thereof to low-water mark; therefore let none get stones, in regard it will cause the sea to waste all the brow away; for in my time, I being an infant and having nobody to look to it, and being left in great debts, so that each was ready to trample upon me, many did much abuse me, and in particular in the getting stone there, by which that bank, which formerly was set for a good fine, (vide Mrs. Horton's and Tho. Lancelot's directions concerning this) — nay, in my time, was worth one pound per annum, now is worth nothing; and if you do not prevent getting stone, or cause a wall to be made, (vide Horton's and Lancelot's directions,) you will have all the croft now belonging to Tho. Landell wasted clear away: and I pray God the Parlor-hey will not likewise be washed away, for much of the bank over against it, of my knowledge, is. King Charles the Second's grant to the Earl of Meath gives you the soil, where all these stones are got, to low-water mark, so that you may hinder any from getting stone there. Besides, you will want stones when you come to build a wall from Mrs. Horton's house end all along the sea

bank, so far as your land goes, till you come to the town field. When you build this wall, about eighty pounds will do it two yards high, the outside of ashlar, and the inside of broken stone. Remember, that if the town prosper, you may either build houses or warehouses all along this wall; and remember, if ever you should make a street through the Parlor-hey up to the Old Hall, (as you may see, vide my directions of the Old Hall,) then it must be cut from the water side through this bank in the Parlor-hey, then into the Old Hall Street. Vide more of this in the directions of the Old Hall.

Owen, Mrs.

An old house. It was formerly a barn. She sets it now for three pounds ten shillings a year. When it falls out of lease, part it from her tenement, and set it upon the rack till you can light of some one who will build a good handsome stone house, three heights at least, thereon; and then, remember they come out with their building as far as the border stone unto the street, as all others do, according to the custom of the town. So may there be a stately house. Reserve twenty shillings rent, with three hens; but as now Mrs. Owen hath it in the lease of her other two houses, so that she pays not one penny for it, neither any services; only this remember, that those who live upon any part of my lands ought, and are bound by special covenant, to grind at some of my mills. Never set more houses than one to one man, if you either intend to have your rent well paid, boons and services performed, or to have a good fine when it falls out of lease, (vide my directions for these things at the end, within the Rental for Liverpool.) Remember, Thomas Assbrocke [Ashbrooke] hath to the eastward an old thatched house, which hath a back side goes southward in length as far as mine adjoining to it, and that then there is another house belonging to the said Assbrocke, wherein Cromton now lives. If you could buy these two old houses, with their appurtenances, which, together with the help of the back side belonging to this house of mine, you might make a

street out of the Water street into the Chapel street, which would be a street very convenient, in regard of the great compass all people are now forced to go about. Remember, Mr. James Jerrem hath often offered me to pull down part of his barn and stable most willingly if I would make a street here. But remember, till you can compass this, you never part with this house and yard; so if ever a street should be made here in despite of them, one half on the one side must be all your own. God bless it. Amen.

LIVESEY, RICHARD,

Long since dead: a fine house, worth at least one hundred and twenty pounds fine, and two pounds rent yearly. This Baly March is a most notorious knave, one of those who openly refused me in the election for parliament man. If ever it lie in your power, let the badge of a knave be upon him; when to save my life and your estate would only have cost him no more than the breath of his mouth, by saying Aye, he denied me — God reward him. This Baly March, in right of his wife, as Rich. Livesey's widow, enjoys a field of the demesne belonging to the Old Hall, called the Pit-hey: I shall set no value upon it, in regard I hope you will never lease it again. Here is in it a place to make ropes, and a little house at the end of it for the same use, which very thing by itself will give you as much as formerly the whole field was worth. Remember, at the end of this field, lying to the Tithebarn street, there is for a great space lying to the said street, the whole breadth of the field, a vacant place whereupon formerly houses were, so you may have brave houses again thereon built, and allow to every one a large back side, and keep the spinning place and house for that use, with a good part of the sand field besides; for which new houses you may have for each at least one pound apiece old rent, and three rent hens, in regard the back sides will be worth so much at least.

KILN-HEY.

A field, called the Kiln-hey, this Baly March hath likewise in the above-said lease, wherein there is now standing a building which was formerly the kiln to your mansion house, the Old Hall. I shall set no value upon this, but hope you will keep it out of lease, for that it was demesne land; only this take by way of caution, that a great part of this kiln-hey lies all along the Old Hall street; so that laying back sides to each house, which back sides must run up to the lane called the Mill lane, and to the Pit-hey before mentioned, this will be a brave place to build several good houses, and at least one pound apiece a year, with three rent hens. Remember before you build, see you build in no part of the Mill lane belonging to this field, in regard of a deed of exchange from the town, which is, I know, now extant in the coffer in the Town Hall, amongst the writings belonging to the town; wherein the town only makes an exchange of this lane for the way by the Old Hall into the town field, at that time the Parlor-hey and Barn-hey being all one, till upon this exchange my ancestors cut them asunder, to make the street, as it now lies, into the town field. Therefore, query, if you should build thereon, if they should give the street again, might they not force you by law to give them the lane? Unless you be resolved on this, be careful how you build — I mean only in that which is called the Mill lane,* I do not mean in this Kiln-hey, for this Kiln-

* Okill's conjectural map is very unsatisfactory, but Moore's descriptions do not enable us to supply one more intelligible. Milne street evidently intersected the Kiln-hey, and did not occupy the site of the modern Old Hall Street. Pit-hey was situated at the lower part of the Milne-hey of Okill and fronted both Tithebarn and Old Hall streets. The lane between Parlor and Barn heys existed from Henry the Eighth's time, and was given by the Moores for Milne street. The town field was to the north of Parlor-hey, and reached to the shore; and as the lane just referred to is stated to be a road into the town field, and a house built on the west side of the lane would front a house with its back to the Barn-hey, we cannot so trace the course of this road as to satisfy these requirements. Fazakerley street, once Rosemary lane, is valuable as fixing the site of Wallnut-hey. Lancelot's and Hacking's heys still exist.

hey is your ancient inheritance for at least this six hundred years past.

LIVESEY, RICHARD.

In this lease, wherein the two before mentioned fields, called the Pit-hey, and the Kiln-hey, and Mill lane are, there are the lives of Elizb. Livesey and Ellen Livesey, daughters of the aforesaid Richard, deceased, and the life of Richard Livesey, son of the said Richard, deceased. These two fields are worth one hundred and fifty pounds fine; but I hope you will never lease them, unless as I have before directed; one day's shearing, three hens at Easter; old rent, 3s. 4d.

LIVESEY, RICHARD,

Deceased. For the house before described, wherein the knave Baly March now lives, vide, and read it all over; worth at least one hundred and twenty pounds fine, two pounds per annum rent; and take the tenne lands in the field from it. But if you should lease them, (for they were demesne lands belonging to the Old Hall,) then you deserve at least eight pounds for every land, I mean for three lives, that is, eighty pounds. But this I charge you, never lease them, or any other so much, to one man; not above three lands to a man; by this means, for every three lands you may have a new house built upon any spot of land you will set out, and so have three houses instead of one. Observe well how you dispose of your lands in the field, for there is scarce a man in Liverpool that is not Mr. Crosse's tenant, but, upon consideration of leasing them but two lands, would be bound to grind at your mill; by which means you might make your horse mill there of great value. But vide the rule for the horse mill, in every lease you make, for those which have no houses under you, but only lands in the field, and therefore live in other men's houses, and, under pretence of that, will not grind at your mill; so that you must advise with counsel for a particular

clause or proviso in your leases to bind or force such to grind with you, or else, I find it by experience, they will find some way to avoid you, and not grind with you. In this house and tenn lands are the lives of Jonathan and John Livesey, sons of Richard Livesey, deceased. They pay for this house and the ten lands, three days' shearing, three hens at Easter, (this house and lands worth per annum fifteen pounds); old rent, £1 6s. 8d.

WHITTLE, WILLIAM,

Built this house. He is a very honest man; use him and his children well. It is worth, if upon the rack rent, twelve pounds per annum—it is an excellent stone house with good cellars, and back side convenient. It is worth, whenever it comes out of lease, one hundred pounds fine for three lives, and to reserve two pounds rent yearly. Lives in it at present are, Robert, son of the said William, and Ellen and Elizabeth Whittle, his daughters; two rent hens at Christmas, and for grinding at my mills, and other covenants, as the rest of my new tenants are, and pays present rent, 5s. Remember I built one gable end, cost seven pounds.

GLOVER, GEORGE,

Schoolmaster of Liverpool,* built this house. He is a very honest man, and hath a very good woman to his wife; use him and his very well, whenever it shall please God they have occasion to use you, that when knaves see virtue rewarded it may make

* The Free School at Liverpool no longer exists. Blome describes the building, 1673, "a great piece of antiquity, formerly a chapel, now a free school, at the west end whereof, next the river, stood the statue of St. Nicholas, (long since defaced and gone,) to which the marines offered when they went to sea." Moore alludes to the schoolmaster, 1667; and Bishop Cartwright, October, 1687, states he licensed "Thomas Baynham to be schoolmaster of Liverpool." We observe in the Crosse pedigree, that in the grammar school age, (temp. Edward VI.,) John Crosse, clerk, founded a grammar school at Liverpool free for all children of the name of Crosse.—*Burke.*

them honest. It is worth, if out of lease, seven pounds per annum, and if it be fined for three lives, fifty pounds, and to reserve an old rent upon it of one pound; in doing this you will use his children very well. Lives at present are, Margaret his wife, and Jane and Ellen, his daughters; two rent hens at Christmas; and for other covenants, according to the rest of my new tenants; (I built both gable ends, cost ten pounds;) rent at present, 5s.

Query. My promise for payment of his rent?

MOORE, EDWARD,

Which is myself. I built this house. It cost me ——.

TITHEBARN STREET.

MARCH, EDWARD,

An honest poor man; use his son well. To this he hath only a house and garden. Remember, at the end of his house, eastward, you may very well build two good houses to front the street, and let them each have a back side alike; so you may have three houses instead of one, the other two houses to pay you at least three shillings apiece old rent, and two rent hens apiece. Observe to get what you can, rent or hens, more than I set down; but not to take less, unless some great emergency fall out, which is not at present known to me. Remember you look well on the back side, through the croft, which is mine for the mill horses, whether you have not a house over against it in the Dale street, or whether there will not one be sold which is over against it, that thereby you may make a street cross from the Dale street into the Tithebarn street; but however, see that if you should make a street from the Dale street, through Mr. Chapman's house, into the vacant croft which Alderman Lorting hath of mine, so lying near this house fronting the said street, then may be this mill-close would help well to make good back sides to the houses on the east side of the same intended street. In this lease is himself and his son: three hens at Christmas;

three days shearing. It is worth three pounds a year, and a fine, to a stranger, thirty pounds. Old rent, 3s.

HOWROBEN, EDWARD,

A good honest man; use his son well. To this house belongs a good back side, which house and back side is worth six pounds a year. There is a way at the west end of his house lying in common for a passage, equally betwixt Brockbank house and this, part of which is my land, and the other his; and it was agreed betwixt me and them that if I let my land in the said passage lie out, then my tenant should have free egress and regress to his back side, through the said passage. This way hath been so used in common betwixt them, as aforesaid, about ten years already last past, and is still so continued to this day. In this house is his own life, Margery his wife, and Edward his son; worth, to be fined, forty pounds, three days' shearing, three hens; old rent, 6s.

HACKING, JOHN,

A very honest man; use him or his children, if ever he hath any, very well. Here is belonging to him in this street one house and a barn, with a back side, a pretty croft, all which is worth about five pounds per annum. Here is room at the east end, betwixt this and Harry Mason's house, for three or four houses; but I charge you, let never none be there erected; for when this house, barn, and back side falls out of lease, then doth likewise fall out of lease a house called Hacking's House in the Dale street, through the lower end of which house I charge you, with God's permission, make a street which will run directly north through the croft belonging to this house and barn, and so will be a most convenient passage for a street from the Dale street into the Tithebarn street, This may be every foot upon your own land, and the croft will make pretty backsides to each house; or if you can purchase the close belonging to Mr. Rich. Moore of the Finch House, lying on the east side of this croft, then

may you go with the street winding eastward, and thereby make the houses on the west side the street bigger back sides. But if you cannot purchase Mr. Rich. Moore's croft, then go on with your own; for it will do very well as it is. I know, were this in my own hands, I could, within a year, have a street. Edw. Howroben [Horobin] and John Coppow hath either offered to build there a house, so suddenly as it is opened, for their younger sons. For this house and croft he pays not one penny old rent; for his sister-in-law, who holds the main house in the Dale street, pays the rent for both. All the houses in this new street, let them pay one shilling per yard to the front, and two ends, and for their leases according to the new houses in More street. This young John Hacking, for this house and barn and croft, pays me neither rent, boon, nor hens; only whoever lives upon the premises is bound to grind at my mills by the old lease wherein all is concluded. Remember, my land goes to the border stones of the street, so far upon which you may build.

FORMBY, ALDERMAN.

Room for a house, where formerly was a barn; you may build on it when you please; for though it now lies to the Pit-hey, yet my lease to Richard Livesey only includes the Pit-hey with its appurtenances, and not the land upon which Mr. Formby's barn stood, which barn was granted by a former lease from my father, John Moore, to the said Mr. Formby, long before I made this lease to Rich. Livesey. Yet advise well before you build a barn ever here again; for if ever it please God the Pit-hey fall out of lease, you may open this, and so joining to it the breadth of the Pit-hey all along this street, build several fine houses and gallant backsides. Read more of this in the next following description or direction for the Pit-hey, in this street.

MASON HENRY,

A good honest poor man; but his wife is a most notorious whore, and a wicked woman. She hath cursed me and mine without any cause, and much abused me, till I was glad to send her to the house of correction; since which she hath been much better. She hath been once at Bridewell, twice carted, and once ducked.* This Henry Mason had a poor house under me in the Castle street, which was ready to fall down, and I out of charity built this house from the cold ground for him, in regard he had been an old servant for some fifty years to our family. When this Henry Mason dies, you may well have ten pounds fine, and five shillings a

* The ducking (properly cucking) stool, at this period, with the pillory and the stocks, ornamented every English market town. Misson gives an elaborate account of the machinery for ducking scolding women, the trebuchet and the stool; and the punishment he describes as "pleasant enough." Bakers and brewers "who offended the statute," were subject to immersion, as also cuck queans, which Lord Coke, (3 Inst. 219) and Mr. William Gifford held to mean scolds, though other etymologists will have the word to signify the female of cuckold; and on reading this last critic's two notes upon the subject, (Jonson's Works, vol. ii. p. 482, vol. iv. p. 424,) we are almost led to believe that a woman was sometimes ducked because her husband was unfaithful. In the last edition of Burns, vol. v. p. 246, Hawkins is quoted to show that after conviction for scolding, on indictment, the ducking might be inflicted.

The last trace of the cucking stool in Liverpool is the order for its repair, 1695, still remaining on the parish books. In Manchester, Barritt saw one standing in the pit, now the Infirmary pool, half a century later. In 1809, a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (vol. lxxix. p. 798,) an old Rugby scholar, states that he saw Dr. Knail, head master of the school, himself duck a scold in a pit near the play ground. The machinery used is minutely described, and is of the ancient kind.

The origin of this punishment is not very clear. Grimm holds that the examen frigidæ aquæ and the wassertauche are connected, (*Deutsche Rechts Alterthumer*, Gottingen, 1829, s. 926, s. 631); but the cucking stool we believe to have been peculiar to ourselves. Grimm merely says, a father might put his son, bound with a rope, into a brook, by way of warning, but must draw him afterwards out. In France, the country of noyades, and of immersions for sorcery by way of trial, (on which there is an excellent essay by M. Ameilhon Leber, vol. iii. p. 420,) we are not aware the cucking stool was ever used.

year rent, and two rent hens. For his wife, if she outlive him, turn her out, for God can never bless anything she hath to do withal. If this old man's son (who many know is a bastard gotten by one Topping, being great with child when she was married) come to take it, you may tell him he is none of Mason's son; yet, if he will give you one pound a year till he be able to fine for it, let him have it. The house cost me at least fifteen pounds building; therefore, in all reason, you may make the best you can to regain the money I have so long laid out of for no other reason but charity to the poor man, he never paying me either rent, boon, or service in all his life.

PIT HEY,

In Richard Livesey's lease. This is belonging to the demesne of the Old Hall. I hope you will never lease it again in gross to Livesey's house; but either keep it to the demesne as formerly, or lease all the front lying to the Tithebarn street, where you may have several good houses, and lay to each a brave back side, reserving from every house at least fifteen shillings a year; or if you lay the back sides clear through the field, then you may have far more, according to the value of the ground you lay to it, besides the advantage of the buildings to your heir and hens, with hens and other services to yourself—this close lying all along the street side, very advantageous for building on. Here is in it a little house for laying ropes in, and a spinning place thereto belonging: be careful what you do in prejudice of it. Look concerning this in the directions for Rich. Livesey's house in Chapel street and Old Hall street; there you may likewise see what old rent, with other services, are paid for this close.

MORE CROFTS AND MILL CROFTS.

The first I know nothing of; therefore inquire concerning it. I think some of it is in lease to the house, late John Higginson's, and some of it in Mrs. Owen's lease; only this I think, some of it fronts the street, which, so far as it doth, you may well

build thereon. If you can have poor houses, are better than none, keeping a good rent, with hens and —— besides the many advantages several tenants bring, and make you far more popular.

And as to the Mill croft, look at my direction of Edward March's house in this street, (for this close lies just beyond his house,) and I have there directed concerning it This close is for the present in my own hands, and this present time my wife hath sowed it with flax, the crop of which I believe is worth at least ten pounds. God bless it, and all mine. Amen. I would rather have you keep this always for your mill horses; and if you build to the street, upon Edw. March's garden, their back sides to go no farther than they do at present, so by that you may still keep this for your mill horses, it being very convenient for them.

LORTING, PETER, ALDERMAN,

For one Fisher's house, which was pulled down in the late wars. He should have built on it, but never doth; this is the inconvenience of letting many houses to one tenant. He gave to Fisher for his interest seventeen pounds, and five pounds to my father. Whenever it falls out of lease, let it to some that will build a good house thereon; you may have as much rent four times over, I mean the value of the close, and a good house built thereon besides, and rent hens and other service. Adjoining to this close on the west side, this Peter Lorting hath bought a little house with a little back side, part whereof, measuring lineally according to the breadth of his house, he lets lie common to this land of mine; see well that whenever it is parted, your land have no prejudice thereby. Remember, on the backside of this yard or croft, towards the Dale street, adjoins to it the back sides belonging to Widow Harrison, now young Mr. Chapman's, in right of his wife, who is daughter to the said Widow Harrison. There is some four back sides which belong to four houses of mine, all together, through which, coming into this croft belonging to Peter Lorting's tenement, you may make very easily a street out of the Dale street into the Tithebarn street. If you can

buy the little house which is Mr. Peter Lorting's own land, lying to the west of this tenement, then may you make the back sides to the houses on the west side of the street so much larger. If he deny to let you have it, you may most justly deny him ever to sign him a new lease of the two considerable tenements he hath under you besides this, the one of which is in the Dale street, and the other in the Juggler street; by which means you may be sure of that parcel of land if you please, (yet not but that I would have you give him the true value thereof,) and God will bless you so much better. In this close he hath his own life, Ellen his wife, and Ellen his daughter; three days' shearing, and three hens at Christmas, and other boons, I believe, (tamen vide,) as other old leases have. Rent, 10s. For this man's conditions, vide his other houses.

JUGGLER STREET.*

LURTING, PETER,

For a house, late Tatlook's. He is a very knave, and hath deceived me twice. I charge you never trust him; but if it lie in your power, let him know I have marked him out for a knave. He was the man who would neither give me his vote when I stood for a parliament man, neither would he give me his vote when I stood to be mayor of this town; but treacherously, contrary to his promise and faith, having engaged at his going out of his mayoralty to name me, and so give his vote for me. It's true he named me amongst others, and then gave his vote for another, which made all my friends much wonder at it, that he would offer to put that great

* Juggler street was afterwards called High street; and at the south end the High Cross; and at the north end the White Cross, stood. At present, Exchange street East is commonly supposed to occupy the site of Juggler street. In looking at the maps of 1720, 1725, and 1768, High street is a direct continuation of Old Hall street, and would traverse the great back entrance of the Exchange Buildings, run close to Nelson's monument, and through the Town Hall to Castle street. Exchange street East is too much to the east to stand for Juggler street.

disgrace upon me; by which means I lost both being parliament man and mayor. The disappointment of either, as times then stood with me, was not so little as five hundred pounds prejudice, men who were my enemies giving it out, underhand, that I was the son of my father,* and therefore durst not give their votes for me; when in truth I am, and was then, in as lawful a condition to have borne an office as any man in England, either to have done my king or country service. This Peter Lorting had nothing to do with this tenement; only he being uncle to Tatlock's children, came in behalf of the eldest son, and I let him have a lease of it cheaper by fifty pounds than I could have had from another. Henry Hey of Ditton offered me a hundred and fifty pounds fine, but I for the good of the heir and his use, made a lease to Peter Lorting, and I being just come to my age, the said Peter Lorting got the lease drawn to himself; since which, the young man who was Tatlock's eldest son is dead, and this Lorting keeps the house with the land to himself, and will neither permit me nor Tatlock's younger children to have the premises; by which he cheats them of the living, and me of fifty pounds — I might have had more. All these truths abovesaid considered, you are not bound neither in conscience nor law to look on him as a tenant, but set it to your best advantage.

To this house belongs a good back side, and a stately room betwixt it and the street to build on. You may build to the border stone in the street, according to the custom of the town; but if there be never any building thereon, then remember there is a place walled in with Perpoint ashlar, where most of the street lay their dung, so that it is of great advantage. There belongs to this house several lands in the field, (query, how many?) and a close of ground near the Castle, upon which close, joining the other three closes betwixt it and the Pool bridge, you may make two brave streets. But if you cannot buy the said three closes, two of which are in your tenants,

* Moore's difficulties flowed from this source. The wound was indeed incurable:

hæret lateri lethalis arundo,

and all the devotion and wealth of his wife failed to avert the approaching ruin.

Jo. Lorting's and Rich. Jones's hands, and if ever their tenements come out of lease, then strive to buy these fields; the third field is my uncle Robert Moore's. I say if these fields cannot be got, then build straight down and up your own field, wherein you may make a street, or at least join with John Lorting's, which is next to you, and let the street lie half up your close and half upon his; then will you have brave back sides to each. You may have for the bare house and back side, to a stranger, a hundred pounds fine and the old rent it now gives. Then the lands in the field, you may either lay them to the Old Hall, or lease them to several, according to my directions for lands in the field, for at least sixty pounds; and for the close at the back of the Castle, never lease it, but either build on it or lay it to the Old Hall, to increase your rent and demesne. By dividing things thus, you may treble your fine, rent, and hens, and make your interest so much stronger by how much more tenants you have. Never lease to one man more than one house; and for the lands in the field, either keep them as formerly to the Old Hall, or lease them to several tenants, by which you may treble your rents, your hens, your service to your mills, and likewise your fines; and then will you have three tenants or more for one, and where you receive one penny for change of lives or fines, you will have three, (vide my directions,) for I have observed little things will give better fines than great things, as being every body's money. This house, with its appurtenance, is worth per annum twenty pounds. Lives in it, his own life, Ellen his wife, and Peter his son. Three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing, and boons according to the rest of the old tenants. Rent, £1 10s.

ANDOW, WIDOW.

This house I had no fine for. Her husband built it for his fine; but if now to be leased, worth at least fifty pounds fine and one pound a year old rent. Here is at the south end at least two feet of my land left out, for which Mr. Andow promises if I will permit his tenant to have free egress to his back side betwixt the

houses, then my tenant shall likewise have the same to her garden and back side. Mr. Andow and I met about it, and we have agreed a writing shall be drawn for a memorandum, for ever, that either party and their tenants shall have free egress and regress for ever, as above said. Here is only one daughter, which was this widow's first husband's child; see she be not wronged by the second husband's children. Her father was an honest man. I went to Ireland once in his ship,* and he was very civil to me; use his well for that, and God will bless you. Lives in this house is only her own and Jane Andow's, her daughter: three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Old rent, 6s. 8d. Other duties as old tenants are, (vide Liverpool instruction.)

YOUNG, ANNE.

She is dead, and her grandchild enjoys this house, whose father, by name Baly March, is a notorious knave, and her husband, one Rob. Prenton, as bad. Both of them hath been against me in all elections, and this in particular hath several times abused me by bad language behind my back, and said I was the worst landlord in England, as I proved to his face in Mr. Tho. Birch's house, near More street end. I will only give you one instance of this knave. When I was last at London, my affairs called me to stay above seven months; so he going with his ship up to London, my wife engaged him to see me, which he faithfully promised; and I having notice that he was safe arrived at Billingsgate, went on purpose to see him, and after much ado, at a [place] a good deal lower than Billingsgate, I found his ship; and having a suit of apparel on my back which cost me at least forty pounds, and taking my man's cloak and throwing it over my clothes, I did so far condescend as to go into a pitiful alehouse, where I sat watching for him till he came to his ship, in a room where was at least five or six several com-

* Colonel Moore, with the other of Cromwell's adventurers, had no doubt land assigned to him in Ireland, although we have hitherto been unable to meet any traces of the fact, excepting this voyage of his son's.

panies of the meanest sort of people you can imagine; and when he came, I gave him good store of ale, and likewise his seamen, and offered, if he had occasion, to let him have what money he pleased, and told him I had several things to send down by sea, so took my leave with great promises he made to see me; but he never came near me, neither ever sent to me, when at the same time was one John Barton with his ship, and although he was none of my tenant, came several times to see me, and proffered to do me what services lay in his power. All this being nothing but truth, I charge you never let him have the house, but if ever he have occasion to use you, let him know what it is to be against an honest landlord; for in the presence of God, I never did him wrong, to the best of my knowledge, in all my life, but was always civil towards him — the Lord reward him, and forgive his ill contrived spirit towards me. If this house out of lease, worth eighty pounds fine, though there be no land to it. But query if there be any, then the fine must be greater. In this is only this knave's wife's life, (her name was Anne March); two days' shearing; three hens at Christmas. Old Rent, £2. Vide Liverpool directions.

Query, How the town came by the little shops where the women now sell apples, and the cobler works? Because in an exchange from Sir Richard Mullinex, I find them granted to my great great great grandfather, John More.

WATER STREET.

Hunter, Jonathan.

He was my butler fourteen years. He paid me no fine, only laid out near a hundred pounds in building. If it were to be leased to a stranger, worth eighty-five pounds; but to him or his, take not above twenty pounds, only make the rent thirty shillings a year as it was formerly. Remember Mrs. Woods hath done me wrong

in taking in the place betwixt her house and this house, for it ought to lie to the street, as, till of late, it always did; for us and whom we claim under always had a great pair of stone stairs went up from the back of this house to the upper room of this house — this very house being formerly the granary belonging to the priory of Berkitt [Birkenhead] in Wirral, where such corn as they left unsold on the market day was carried up those back stairs of stone into an upper room, and there lay till next market day. But Jonathan Hunter building this house almost anew, took down those stairs and made use of the stones, and within two or three years, when I was at London in all my troubles, this Mrs. Woods made the wall, and set the door, which now incloses it from the street. Besides, she hath not left me so much as an eavesing drop. She is an old doting woman; but you may by fair means have this remediated in time, it being my very good lord and friend* the Earl of Derby's land — I mean the house wherein Mrs. Woods now lives is a tenement belonging to the lord of Derby. This house, called the granary to Berket [Birkenhead] priory, was sold, after the dissolution of abbeys, by that very name, and my father, John Moore, bought it, and had a fine past of it from one Mr. William More, who at this day is alive in Manchester. Look well to this deed, vide Hunter Jonathan, or More William, in my book of alphabets. In this deed is the Poole house, and the barn formerly Rose's in the Old Hall street, now Sandiford's, (vide Old Hall Street;) three geese at Michaelmas; old Rent, 13s. 4d.

Chanler, (Chandler,) John,

Late the tenement of one Milling. It is the Lord Mullinex's land, out of which I and my ancestors ever had six shil-

* Of the earls of Derby in this age we have added a note at the end of the Rental. Their influence in Liverpool must greatly have rested on the acquiescence of the Moores. The estate of the Stanleys in the borough was then almost limited to the ancient tower and its yards and gardens. The modern property in and near the borough, now belonging to Lord Derby, was chiefly bought from the Moores at the beginning of the next century.

lings a year chief rent. Query if this was not Mainwaring's land before Mullinex's, who sold it in fee farm, and so the chief came to us, according as Robert Lions, and Baly Story, in the same street. Now query, as old Tho. Wharton told me what lands belong to this house, which are absolutely my inheritance; as one by name, he says, called the Maiden lands, for which I have a deed. Look it out, and if you find it so, take the lands and not the rent, which is but 6s.

FORMBY, ALDERMAN,*

Is one who, when to have chosen me a parliament man would have saved my whole estate, he would not give me his vote; but when I sent Mr. Shaw the minister to him, he returned him the answer, I was too young to be a parliament man, therefore he would not give me his vote this parliament or the next, but the third he would. Thus you may see what to expect from such knaves; when his vote might have been worth five thousand pounds to me, and cost him nothing, yet he would not give it me, but as much as in him lay endeavoured to have extirpated me and mine for ever. Therefore I hope it is no sin, whenever the house falls out of lease, to endeavour to get a better tenant, for discouragement of rogues, and encouragement of honest tenants.† This fellow, Baly March, Alderman Andow, and Alderman Corles, were all the tenants that openly appeared against me, at the king's coming in, for being a parliament man. The Lord Jesus forgive them. It had saved me five thousand pounds if I had been of that parliament. This house is worth a hundred and fifty pounds fine, or two hundred pounds

* The Formbys, originally proceeding from the neighbouring township of that name, are thus early shown to be of importance in the borough. They are still honourably and usefully connected with Liverpool.

† We almost feel our own flesh quivering and creeping under the inflictions Moore's refractory tenants made him undergo. There is no mosquito curtain, no Sir Francis Head's potash kettle, not even the panoply in which Sir Charles Fellowes sleeps, could have protected poor Moore, thin skinned as he was, from "the most perfidious knaves to their landlord in all England," the "lurching knave"

rather. There is but two lives in it, himself and William his son, two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Old rent, £2. 3s. 4d.

HOLT, JOAN,

One who hath much abused me. Her son James was one of those who promised me his vote, and when it came to the election, left me and went to the other party. This old woman she did use me very hard when I made Fenwick street; in a word, she would let me have nothing after me, either as her landlord or a friend. She is the only hindrance for houses on that side Fenwick street; for the little piece of her back side, she had six times as much land of me in the town field. If ever she get you on the advantage, you must expect no mercy; therefore if ever it fall out of lease, make your best advantage. Here is six or eight lands belongs to this house; take them clear away, and lay them to the Old Hall; and for the house, it is worth a hundred and fifty pounds for three lives, or a hundred pounds fine and raise the rent to forty shillings a year. She lately gave me twenty-four pounds in silver to put in her grand-

Andow, the "very knave" Lurting, Formby the rogue to be discouraged, &c. Liverpool was Moore's Inferno, and he was

stimolati molto
Da mosconi, e da vespe, ch' eran ivi.

Vainly with passionate eagerness did he dream of representing Liverpool; nay, he would have been satisfied to have been its mayor. But the Williamsons, Andows, Johnsons, Formbys, &c., were obdurate, and no Moore ever again arrived at either honour. Leases for lives, whilst they render the tenants politically independent, do not insure the improvement of the property, and leave the landlord in the delusion that he still has a power over his rent payers. Moore had a glimpse of this, when he said, "therefore in the name of God make the best you can of your own." Still he could not wholly believe his own helplessness, and so he sank into keeping a register of injuries to be requited, and bequeathed it to his son. Selden, in the *Table Talk*, has the following passage on this subject. "When men did let their land underfoot, the tenants would fight for their landlords, so that way they had their retribution; but now they will do nothing for them; may be the first, if but a constable bid them, that shall lay the landlord by the heels; and therefore 'tis vanity, and folly, not to take the full value."

child's life, and gave my wife a piece of gold; she at the same time had her own life, and her daughter Livesey's. Remember, if ever it lie in your power, take away all her back side so far as Fenwick street reaches; and then you may lay to John Rimmer's house, of her back side, so far as his house and kitchen reaches; and then in lieu of that, you may take away, at either end of John Rimmer's house, all the land which now he hath; then may you have fair houses built thereon all along to the fronting Fenwick street, and lay for their back sides part of Joan Holt's back side; by which means that which is now a dead wall will be all fair houses, much to the honour of the street. Therefore fail not to do it. In this house and lands are her life, Anne her daughter's, and —— Holt her grandchild's. Two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas, and old rent, 4s. 6d.

OWEN, MRS.,

Baly Owen's wife. She hath, besides this house, two houses more, one in the Chapel street, and the other in More street. You must never expect anything to the value of a farthing from her, but what is for her own ends. Here is twenty-two or twenty-three and twenty lands belongs to this house, which very lands will give at least two hundred and twenty pounds by themselves. But I would never have you lease them; and if you should, read my directions as to your leasing lands, at the end of this Rental for Liverpool. Remember, if ever it lie in your power, fail not but take all the garden so far as lies to the front of Fenwick street, and then, whereas it is now but a dead wall to the street, you may cause fair buildings thereon. I would not have you leave neither garden nor back side to this house so far as it lies fronting to Fenwick street; nay, though you pull down Margaret Granger's little kitchen, and build thereon, and lay for the back side the land whereon the thatched barn belonging to this house now stands; for good houses will set for mony an ought hereabout. Remember, for the other two houses, you never lease them all in this lease again, but to several tenants, by which, where you have one tenant, you will have three, and many great ad-

vantages thereby will accrue. Read my directions in this Rental concerning letting no tenant have more houses than one. This Mrs. Owen hath a lease in reversion for twenty-one years after her own life. If she give it to the daughter by John Owen, she much wrongs her former husband's children, of which there is none now living but one Eliz. Lancelot, who is heir by the landlord's courtesy to it; therefore, if it lie in your power, help the wronged, and do justice. This Mrs. Owen paid but thirty pounds for the twenty-one years, which is as good as nothing. The fine of this house, without the lands or either of the other houses, is well worth two hundred pounds, two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. But in the lease for twenty one years, when that comes into force, then there is a great deal more boons, (vide the lease,) and the old rent is £2. 6s. 6d.

STORY, ALDERMAN,

For the house he lives in, and the lands belonging to it. Out of it, for ever, a fee farm rent. This was Mainwaring of Croxton's land, who first sold the land in fee farm, and afterwards sold the rent reserved to my great great grandfather, John Moore, in Queen Mary's time, It is payable but once a year at Michaelmas, and there is a particular covenant that if they do not pay the chief or fee farm rent exactly on Michaelmas day before sunset, then the land is to return to Mainwaring, his heirs, or assigns, which you are by law. Therefore look well to it. The fee farm rent reserved is but 6s.

LION, ROBERT.

Out of this house I and my ancestors formerly had a fee farm rent of eight shillings, (it was Mainwaring of Croxton's land in Cheshire.) But now, the Lord Jesus bless you and me and make us thankful, that enabled me to buy it of Robert Lion, by which means I have pulled down the middle part thereof and made the passage for Fenwick street just through it. Take notice that the

little house over against it, lying between Joan Holt's and this house, was formerly part of these premises, and when Mr. Mainwaring of Croxton sold it in fee farm, the eight shillings reserved was out of the whole; so that you having the fee farm rent, notwithstanding the subsequent tenants have parted it, you may strain for your rent upon any part of the premises. Look into my title amongst the deeds, and there you will more at large find the reason. This Robert Lion is a most honest man; if ever he need to you, use him well, for my sake. At the same time I bought it, he might have had forty pounds more money; but he bade them all be contented, I should have it before any in England. I charge you take sixty pounds for a lease of him or his less than of any other. This tenement is divided into two parts: the one, Margaret Granger lives in, and the other, Owner Worrell now lives in. The side Widow Granger lives in is worth eighty pounds fine, and ten shillings rent; and the other part, which Worrell lives in, with the kitchen and stable, is worth sixty pounds more, and ten shillings rent; and for either, three rent hens apiece. I charge you never lease to one tenant two houses; it weakens your interest in many respects, and you can never have so good fines nor rents. Read my directions concerning it in the end of Liverpool Rental. Remember, all the passage or street from the border stones in the Water street to the Castle Hill, is your absolute land of inheritance, to which purpose I have caused the posts and chains there to be set, that you may, as often as you please, cause them locked to keep your interest, that no carts may go that way but pay you an acknowledgement. I have likewise an instrument drawn under the town seal to acknowledge all this, so that there may never be no difference between you and the town about it. In this house at present is the said Robert Lion's own life, and Peter Lorting, son to Alderman Lorting, and a kinsman's child of Robert Lion, living in the country, I know not where. Take notice, if this Robert Lion die without children, (as at present he hath none,) that then you may set the premises at a far greater rate for a fine. He pays two hens at Easter, and no more rent than what his chief was before I bought it. The side Granger lives in is worth, a year, eight pounds, and the other

part Worrell lives in, as above said, is worth six pounds. The old rent for all is but 8s.

CORLES, HENRY,*

A knave of knaves; one that in all elections, both for parliament man and mayor, was against me. He and Alderman Andow, Rich. Williamson, Baly March, Alderman Formby, Baly Holt, and Will. Mosse, were those that only of my own tenants openly appeared against me, (vide every one of their characters by Andow's.) To this house belongs several standings of tradesmen upon the market day; and if occasion be, you may build so far as the gutter that comes from Widow Eckellston's [Eccleston's?] house. When old Mr. Bannister made that wall, he left out that parcel of ground on purpose, because of the profit accrued for standings on market days and fairs. Only take notice, you must pay the usual tolled rent to the town, but no more, which is ———.

This is the only place in all Liverpool to build a good house on, it standing just in the heart of the market. As it is now, the house is worth eight pounds per annum, and the standings two pounds; for the fine, a hundred pounds, and make the rent two pounds per annum. He pays three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing, and old rent, £1 6s. 8d.

There is a lease for twenty-one years after Mrs. Corles's decease; look for it under the name of Mrs. Allcocke, in the More street or Castle hill; which rent and boons she pays, vide ——.

* The second wife of Edward Tarlton is set down in the pedigree, (Herald's College,) as Anne, daughter of Henry Corles, alderman and mayor of Liverpool, 1661, by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of James Southern, gent., bailiff of Liverpool, 1625; who had lands at the Maiden's green, Liverpool.

CASTLE STREET.

ROW, THOMAS.

This man is pretty honest, yet trust him not; for if he see a greater party against you, he will deceive you. This house stands in a good place, and will set for ten pounds per annum. Remember, if ever it fall in your way, that you take a piece of a cellar from it that lies just under Widow Blundell's house, laying that cellar to Widow Blundell's house. It will make Widow Blundell's house more convenient, and the taking it from this house will not be threepence prejudice to these premises. This house deserves a hundred and twenty pounds fine, and to make the rent up forty shillings. He hath in it two lives, viz. Thomas and James, his sons; three days' shearing, three hens at ———; old rent, £1 15s. 8d.

BLUNDELL, WIDOW, *alias* HEAYS, *and* SCASBRICKE *her son-in law*.

A very cunning woman; hath to her son-in-law a notorious knave, and one whom I charge you never trust. I will here tell you a pretty story of him. I intending to build a stable at my horse mill door, to make it bigger I would take in a little gennell, in length some three yards and in breadth not one yard, which lay at the south end of Will. Riding the cooper's. But William Riding was extremely unreasonable, and demanded to have two shillings yearly abated out of his rent for it, when in truth nobody in England would give threepence a year for it; and I seeing him so base to me, desired he would refer it to any body, to which he agreed. Then I named this fellow Scasbricke and Tho. Bridge, as indifferent betwixt us; and after two days they awarded me to abate two shillings yearly and the three rent hens, which was as good as four shillings per annum, and awarded me, besides, to make the said William Riding a back door in the wall to his back side in Phœnix alley, with locks and key, in all which would have cost me at least fifteen shillings. Thus you see what it is to rely on such knaves; when I could have

had it for two shillings, they would have made me pay fifteen shillings fine, and four shillings yearly; and these were both my own tenants and arbitrators. Thus you see what unreasonable souls these common people hath, and perfectly hates a gentleman, I charge you in the name of God, never trust them. Do but consider what a knave they would have judged me to have been, had they or any else referred such a business to me, and I to have made such an award. If ever it lie in your way, remember it and read this to them, and let them find as much favour from you as I had from them, that is, to make them either pay more than any other, or take their livings from them. Remember, there is a little piece of a cellar lies under this house, which now Thomas Row in this street hath in possession, (read the directions concerning him,) and lay it to this house; it will make it much better. This will be worth twenty pounds fine and one pound a year rent. She at present pays three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas, and hath in it her own life, James Scasbricke her son's, and Anne her daughter's. If ever this James Scasbricke comes to be bailiff of Liverpool, he is to give me ——— pounds more of his fine, (vide his lease concerning it.) Old rent, 15*s*.

FELLS, ISABEL, *alias* JUMPE.

This was formerly Mainwaring, of Croxton's land; and first he sold it in fee farm, reserving one shilling of rent yearly to him and his heirs and assigns; then after he sold the rent to my great great grandfather, John Moore, in Queen Mary's days. There is payable to this a little alley of houses, one half of which lately I have bought, and the other half or side Mr. Pemberton, the apothecary, hath bought. Now take notice that you may make Mr. Pemberton pay all the twelvepence a-year if you please, for if it were sold into a thousand parcels, yet the chief-lord might distrain of all, or any part of it, for his reserved rent. But if they should plead my purchase after the inheritance hath drowned the rent, you may plead, its true, I bought the land, and at the same time the fee of inheritance,

of the one shilling rent, was in the Lord of Meath by a special grant from the king, and so the rent is not drowned with the inheritance. There is a particular clause in the deed to Mr. Mainwairing, of Croxton, that if the one shilling rent be not paid exactly at Michaelmas day the land reverts again. Remember if ever this fall out of lease you never lease the garden again, but have it all built with little houses to the very bottom, and so Mr. Pemberton will build the like; and then remember one half of the passage or street down to the lower end must be allowed out of his ground, and the other half out of my land; so let it lie for a passage in mean betwixt you. Remember I have now a place reserved out of this woman's lease, at the east end of her house, which will be good room to build two little houses on, and get them built as soon as you can; you may have five shillings a-piece for them, and two rent hens a-piece yearly, and let a tenant build them for the fine. Remember that joining to this house, on the north side next towards the high cross, is a new house, lately built by one ——— Rimer, to which house, on the south side, he hath made a great door for a laden horse to go into his back side, part of which door and sides thereof stands on my land, and within my eavesing-drop of this house of Isabel Fells; but he hath promised me to give me a note under his hand and seal, and likewise under his hand and seal to acknowledge that it stood upon my land, and that whenever I pleased it should be taken down again, (vide this note amongst my deeds.) This Isabel Fells is much in arrear of rent. After I had purchased my part of one Fells, a Cheshire man; merely out of charity, for her consent, I gave her ten pounds in silver and twelve bushels of malt; and Mr. Pemberton, who purchased the other half, would not give her one penny. Have in mind that this Isabel Fells pretended a title to the whole alley, and when I bought my part of it I had her consent, by being party both to the deed and fine, the which Mr. Pemberton had not; only from John Fells, in Cheshire, his purchase came. Query, if this may not make Mr. Pemberton's title worse. In this lease is her own life, and Peter Jumpe's, her son; three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Rent, 10s.

PLOME, WIDOW,

A good honest woman. A pretty new house. I did put in her son's life for nine pounds and the building this house; there is two lands in the field belongs to it. Remember at the north end is a most convenient place for to build on, to come out into the street and to join to this house. Remember whenever you make another lease of it, you cause them thereon at the north end to build. Remember that whenever it comes out of lease you never lease all the back side to it again, for I would have you make the back side to this house go no farther than a cross-wall, which now divides the back side and the yard. And take notice the yard hath a front for some thirty yards, which faces directly south towards the highway, which goes towards the pool, upon which front of thirty yards you may cause two good houses, or at least, one as good a house as most will be in Liverpool, for taking from the cross-wall above said, there will then belong a brave back side to it, and I am confident this will be an excellent place to build on. This house, with part taken away from it, will be worth thirty pounds, besides the two lands. There is at present but two lives, viz.: Ellen Carre, the wife of Old Carre, and the widow, and her son, Thomas Plome; two hens at Christmas, shearing two days. Rent, 12s.

WILLIAMSON, RICHARD.

A most notorious knave, I mean as to me and mine; upon all occasions hath been always against me.* Remember you never trust any of that name in this town, for there is a great faction of them and their relations, and what is in them always lies underhand. They have always been enemies to me and all your prede-

* The fact of the existence of long standing differences between the Williamsons and Moores could not have been conjectured from the uniform similarity of their politics. Thomas Williamson, clerk, son of Thomas, mayor, 1651, married the daughter of Richard Percival, then possessing Allerton, and occupying a position which the Percivals afterwards did not maintain.

cessors, time out of the memory of man. I pray God keep you and yours from their malice. Amen. Query, what belongs to this house? for I know not. This house stands near the market in a very convenient place, is worth seventy pounds fine. Lives in it, his own, Katherine his wife, and Robert his son; three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas; rent, £2.

JOHNSON, BALY,*

One of the hardest men in town. He bought this of Rich. Heapy without my consent; and at last, for forty pounds, I admitted him tenant and changed him two lives; but within less than a year, I making Phœnix street, had occasion to use the little close which is now Widow Greton's back side, and he had the impudence to demand sixty pounds of me for that, when in truth it was worth but ten shillings per annum; and the whole tenement was at least eighteen pounds a year, which I let him have for forty pounds. And at last all I could bring him to was to take four lands in Liverpool field, which I could have had near thirty pounds for. Thus you may see that you must expect no mercy from such rogues; therefore in the name of God make the best you can of your own. There belongs to this house several lands in the field, besides the four he had of me: never lease them again. Remember there belongs a great close to this house, lying in the Dale street, which runs down to the pool. If ever the pool shall be cut so as shipping shall come up on the back of the town, then this will be a most especial place to make a street, the only piece of land you have. I charge you never lease it again, but reserve it for a street. Here is a barn stands at the end of this field, now set for three pounds per annum. If there should never any street be there built, you might have to the

* Thomas Johnson, bailiff 1663, and mayor 1670, we presume was the father of Sir Thomas Johnson, who afterwards possessed this land between Dale street and Whitechapel; and Sir Thomas's buildings still mark its site. The improvement of the pool up to the bridge at the end of Dale street, was for a century and a half a favourite idea with the Moores and Crosses.

front, in the Dale street, three or four brave houses built, and great back sides, worth twenty shillings apiece a year, old rent. This house in the Castle street only of itself is worth a hundred and thirty pounds fine, and the lands in the field worth a hundred pounds fine, and the barn and close in the Dale street worth nobody knows what. But I charge you never lease them all to one. Three hens at Christmas; three days' shearing; lives, Baly Johnson's two children; rent, £2. Vide, before you lease this back side, Phœnix alley, on the west end, concerning James Glover.

JONES, EDWARD,

Hath a lease for his own life, Peter and Roger, his brethren. A very good house, worth, old rent, two pounds a-year, and one hundred pounds fine; two hens at Easter, two days' shearing. At present the old rent is but £1 6s. Query, what lands in the town-field?

This Edw. Jones hath an elder brother who bought a small close of ground of Mr. Rich. Moore, of the Finch House; it cost him but forty pounds. I wish you had given one hundred pounds for it, for had you but this close, and another which is your tenant's, John Lorting's, then might you build a most brave street or two; all from the Lord Mullinex's buildings to the Pool House would be yours, and my uncle, Robert Moore's. These four closes are the only places in Liverpool to build on. If ever the pool be made navigable, the shipping will lie two parts round them. If possible fail not to buy this close, John Lorting's and my uncle Robert's, or rather let my uncle Robert's son have his share of the houses so far as stands on his close.

MOSSE, WILLIAM,

An idle drunken fellow; one of Andow's gang, which betrayed me contrary to his faith. Query, what lands in the town-field worth eighty pounds fine? and to raise the rent to two pounds

per annum; in it three days' shearing, three rent hens. It is at present held by Mosse's wife's life, but query another lease made to her eldest daughter. Remember to view this building, for this fellow lets it go down. Old rent, £1 6s. Vide Phœnix Alley at the west end. James Glover's Alley, if ever built, this back side to be for them; therefore lease it not.

HARRISON, ELIZABETH,

Because her father was an old servant to my family, I gave her life in it for but five pounds fine. Remember whenever it lies in your power you cause the old dirty buildings belonging to this house, fronting Phœnix Alley, to be pulled down and rebuilt anew, handsomely to the street. And likewise remember to take the vacant place at the end of her old kiln into your hands, and there you may have a good house or two built. This woman, after I had given her life in for as good as nothing, she forced me to give her two children's lives in, for a little piece of her garden; therefore, if ever it lie in your way, in the name of God, you may most justly make the best of it. It is worth, at present, thirteen pounds per annum, for all which she gave but five pounds fine for three lives. It is worth one hundred pounds fine, besides the places to build on, which I would have you make distinct houses; and if ever it lie in your way, make them contribute, with others, to the public well in the Alley. Two hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. Lives, her own and ———. £2. Vide this Widow Harrison's house in Phœnix Alley, more at large fail not.

RIDING, WILLIAM,

Lately turned papist, and one who hath dealt most basely with me about a little gennell betwixt him and my horse mill, upon which I would have built part of my new stable at the north side of my mill door, (vide Widow Blundell's son-in-law, by name Scasbricke, concerning their horse dealings with me.) This house

is worth forty pounds fine, and to raise the rent to one pound four shillings, as the old rent was formerly; but when I made Fenwick alley, they forced me to bate ten shillings of the old rent yearly. I hope that you will not fail to make it again, whenever it lies in your power. Lives in this, him the said William Riding, Thomas his son, and Ann his daughter, (vide Riding in Cleaves alley;) three days' shearing after the death of William, and hens, three at Christmas, and old rent, 14s.

HORSE MILL.

God bless it. A thing of great concernment to your estate. I have got, when the trading to Lochaber, an island in Scotland, was used, twenty measures of toll a week, for two years together, when malt sold for five shillings a Winchester measure. But now nine or ten measures a week, and against fairs or holidays, twenty measures a week. This remember, you have a great eye how custom rises or falls at this mill. Know every week what tenants you have that grinds away and without lawful cause; make them pay for it, according to their covenants in their leases. Know who they are that grind at your mill that are none of your tenants, that if there fall an occasion into your power, you may show them a kindness. Know who they are, of any fashion, that doth not grind at your mill, and if they be not obliged by some especial obligation to them that owns the mill where they grind, as by kindred or the like, I charge you never trust them, neither do them a courtesy if it lie in your power, for by that small thing you may see they will never do you any; and when all the town knows you take notice of your customers, and accordingly remember them in your civilities or disrespects, either by fair means or foul, fear or hope of reward, you will oblige most to you. Where you find a great brewer that is none of your tenant, that doth not grind with you, try if they will be your tenant for one or more lands in the field, and for the same oblige them to grind with you. But remember you set as few lands to one tenant as you can, by which you will have lands to satisfy all; and

never set more houses to a tenant than one; then will you have more customers and more votes, and upon all occasions more strength by how many more tenants you have. Observe the rule above said exactly, and if ever you be mayor and a justice of peace in the country, you may very easily make this mill worth twenty measures a week, which, at a crown a measure, is five pounds a week, many of your tenants brewing thirty measures a week. Mark well the covenant in your leases for grinding at your mills; let your penalty be as high as you can agree with them. Remember, there can be no more mills in town than what is already. In my grandfather Edward Moore's time, there was two or three proud fellows set up mills; but he preferred a bill in the Duchy, showing how our windmill is the king's mill, and the tenants within Liverpool ought to grind there, because he paid a great rent: and after two hearings, it was decreed those new erected mills should be put down, and fined besides, which accordingly was put in execution, and the mills were pulled down. Query, if Mr. Bixteth's mill ought to grind for any body but his own use? It were a good way to invite one day in the Christmas all that are customers to your mills, and be none of your tenants, both in the town and country. I am confident it would get both this mill and the other mills great custom. My grandfather Edw. Moore his continual allowance in the house was sixteen measures a week in malt, and sixteen measures a week of bread corn, and got it all for toll.* But it was because he was the only man in these parts in all the great offices; so that all for fear or love grinded with him, and he observed exactly the rules above said. I find at Bootle mill his usual get was sixteen, eighteen, or twenty measures a week; therefore serve God and follow his example — if so, you may make your mills worth some hundreds a year, according as corn bears a price. Here belongs to this mill a vacant place to lay your dung on; it is but a

* The perfect copy of Chaucer's Miller,—

Wel cowde he stele corn, and tollen thries.

Our Liverpool ancestors, although they had not access to the "Rentaly," knew enough of the purposes to which Edward Moore would apply any power they trusted him with to resist his being made mayor.

very little place, therefore let your dung be carried often away, and then all your tenants thereabout who have no back sides will lay their dung there, which will be a great advantage for getting corn off those lands you keep in your own hands, or for mucking your meadowing at the Watergarth, or other fields about the town. Let your tenants know they are welcome to lay their dung there, and you expect it. One most especial thing is to have a great eye that your miller abuse not your horses; and if your custom be great, allow all winter long a bushel and a half of oats to two horses, but in the summer none, only let their grass be near the town. Have an eye that the millers purloin not your hay. Never carry more than one small load at a time, and know how long that lasts, and you will find a small load will last as long as a great one; for the millers will say a load is but a load. Remember the eye of the master makes the horse fat; and if the miller pleases not the customers, let him go. Remember you, or some for you, keep an exact account of what you get each week, and so you may see how it comes or goes, and how you may cherish your miller. Remember your mill be always in good order, and then one horse will draw as much as two: fail not to remember this.

Bridge, Thomas.

This house formerly was one Mrs. Dorothy Shelvocke's, but now I leased it to this Mr. Bridge. For his character, see in this street, James Scasbricke, (Widow Heys's son,) how they two fitted me. He gave me thirty pounds fine for three lives, and was to build what he hath done, which, together with slating the house, hath cost him at least seventy pounds, so that it stands him in at least a hundred pounds, the which you may have for a fine whenever it comes out of lease, considering how he served me. There is no land belongs to it only a good back side and a pretty garden, the which garden wall lies all along a lane or alley I am now in building; so that if ever it come out of lease, you may run up pretty brick houses fronting to the alley, and making them not above eleven feet broad within, there will remain out of the breadth of the garden

pretty back sides to each house. At the south end of this house have in mind there is an alley or lane, made by all out of my own land, into Fenwick street, where I intend to have post and chains set, to let the world know this is only a passage for myself and tenants by my permission, and that I may stop it up when I please, and have in mind that I and my tenants are at the whole cost of paving it and keeping it so. I intend to get it so put into the town records, both this lane and all the other streets and places I have built, that there may never in the future be any difference between me and the town concerning them. God bless them to me and mine. Amen. Make this house rent one pound more, so then it will be thirty shillings, for I bated one pound rent in consideration of the building; therefore I would have you make it up thirty shillings a year again, and have at least eighty pounds fine too: two days' shearing, and three rent hens at Christmas; to have a cart way to his back gate but no further; vide his lease; to permit all I please passage through the alley. Lives, Elizabeth his wife, Edward his son, and Katherine his daughter. Rent, 10s.

WINDLE, RICHARD.

This fellow was base son to one Mrs. Dorothy Shelvocke, who was daughter to that Mr. Houghton which lived in Watre [Wavertree] lane. I gave him a lease of this land for nothing for the two lives of his children, but that he would resign his interest in Tho. Bridge's house, the which interest I only gave him out of courtesy, neither in regard it was Mrs. Dorothy's mind he should have it — this was she my grandfather purchased great Carrelton from. This Rich. Windle hath only the two fields called the Gorsey heys, lying by Everton-cause, and one little meadow spot on the other side of the lane. This, if ever out of lease, I would never have you lease it, because it belongs to the Old Hall demesne, and I only leased it through necessity, to please Mrs. Dorothy. Take notice, all lands about this town will give a good rent, especially inclosed land as this is. Truly I do not know well what this is worth; but if to be fined, worth at

least fifty pounds for three lives, or five pounds a year, or more; tamen query — you make your best advantage. They are no ancient tenants, neither had I one penny fine for their lives. Remember, this Richard Windle promised to build a house on the premises; if so, it would be a pretty thing. Lives, three: himself, Dorothy and Elizabeth his daughters; three rent hens at Christmas, and old rent, 8s. Remember there is one half land in Liverpool field in this lease besides what before expressed.

MONELY, JOHN,

The tailor: a base fellow, and a knave, and his wife worse; they have abused me in several kinds. He gave me thirteen pounds fine, and built that house besides, which cost at least a hundred pounds. This house will be worth well sixty pounds fine and one pound a year rent. He is to permit a passage to all my tenants through the passage that goes under his north end of his house; and if I please, there may be a door, allowing to each tenant in the alley a key at their own charge. Remember he is to build a kitchen on the back side. Lives: himself, Jane his wife, and Edward Formby, son of Gregory Formby of Liverpool; two rent hens at Christmas. Remember, if ever the said John Monely have occasion to change his lives, or alienate the premises, that you read what I have with my own hand endorsed on the back of the counterpane, what a knave he was, and the vow I made whoever he assigned it to should have it no longer than the assignment lasted. Remember you observe this direction, and the encouragement of good tenants and discouragement of bad. No land belongs to this house. Old rent, 10s. Remember most of all the new tenants gave bonds for the performance of their leases.

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, MR.

This man, some fourteen years agone, was a very poor man, and had nothing but this one house and back side under

me. When his wife died I gave him a life for nothing, another time I changed him a life for nothing. The old rent for this house was two pounds eight shillings; and God blessing him in the world, he had a great desire to lessen his rent, and he gave me twenty pounds in ready money fine to abate the rent but twenty shillings, which was twenty years value for three lives. Then he paid me but one pound eight shillings yearly. Not long after, he gave me twenty pounds fine for the field which now the More street's built in to be added to the lease of this house; and when it pleased God the fancy came into my head of making a street in this field of his, he would not let me have the field again without I would abate him the whole rent of this house all but two shillings a year, and let him have three lives and twenty one years in what houses he should take for himself or his friends to build upon this field. And seeing he had me at such advantage, I was forced to take but two shillings a year for this house, and grant him twenty one years after three lives in the house Mr. Birch lives in, the house Mr. Clayton lives in, and the house Capt. Nixon now lives in, which three houses he built himself; and he likewise forced me to grant the like lease to his brother Richard Bushell, and his brother-in-law Rob. Woodside. So that if ever this house come out of lease, it is most just to raise it to the old rent, two pounds eight shillings. Remember, whenever you make a new lease, you may add what covenants you please, for this Mr. Bushell was the first that ever caused me to alter my leases from my own form, because he knew I was at his mercy. Remember, whatsoever become of it, you fail not to have three hens to each tenant, and for them finding to the Light Horse, or other charge in the nature. In this lease is Mr. Bushell's spinning place, which he denied to grant but ten yards at the east end, although I offered him thirty pounds; so he forced me to build the bridge in Phœnix street, which cost me full that money. Remember, this very spinning place, besides the two houses at either end, will be worth forty pounds per annum, if he cover it over from one end to the other as he now intends; so that they may spin foul and fair in it dry. Remember the west end of the back side belonging to this house in the Castle street, reaches to the

Spinning place.

Fenwick street, near the bridge, upon which Mr. Bushell is to build a good house of stone answerable to the length, for height and other things, as doors, boarded floors, windows, and slates, sample to his own house near the post and chains in the More street, wherein now Capt. Nixon doth dwell. And he is likewise to build answerable of either side the bridge, to Fenwick Hall end, and Robert Worrell's house end, the which, if he should deny, and only build some poor mean structure both for height and materials, then remember you let him not join to Fenwick Hall gable end, nor Robert Worrell's gable end, nor the house which is to be built at Roger James's house end; and if he should build independently, of himself, and join to none of these, remember that you let him break none of the battlement of the bridge, which will permit him no way into those houses; and for the house at the garden end, you may hinder him from making a way to it through Fenwick street, by building a wall of your own a foot into the street over against his wall. I only write this to let you know how you may force him, if he do build, either to do like the rest, or not to build at all.

In this lease is likewise the house at the end of the spinning place, wherein now Tho. Birch Esq.* lives, and thirty five yards and four

* Thus the *ci-devant* colonel, governor and member for Liverpool, Thomas Birch, was passing the evening of his days in the scene of his former activity. He died in 1678, aged 70, "deaf and in dotage."

We refer to the *Civil War Tracts*, the *Norris Papers*, and to the *Commons' Journals*, 3rd December, 1650, where Birch's services and expectations are enumerated. On July 4th, 1659, there is a curious bargain made between Birch and the Commons, by which, after deducting £35 to be paid for the lead and vendible materials of the castle at Liverpool, and which money was insufficient to cover the expences of the demolition of the castle, and is, therefore, appropriated to the State, a house within the castle, "which, with the site, is worth £100, which by computation the demolition will amount unto," is given to Birch on condition "that the castle is made untenable, together with the walls and towers." It is further ordered, that castle, dwelling-house, materials, &c., under these stipulations, be conveyed to Birch. Before this destruction could even be commenced, the very contingency which it was ordered to avert, occurred; the castle, in August, was seized by the Royalists. Nor does the complete removal of it appear to have occurred even up to William's reign; for it was then an armoury, and guarded, although dilapidated; and in the lease of the soil and site, granted by Anne, 5th March, (1704,) to the

inches eastward, and in breadth eleven yards and a half, lying north and south, being next the back side of that house. All this goes in this lease together. Remember the spinning place is to be twelve foot broad, and fourteen foot broad, if any deny the liberty of building on their wall. Remember there is no way into the spinning place but through a cross lane which was by agreement to be left at Mr. Bushell's east end of his ground, lying next to Tho. Gallaw's house; but now the said Mr. Bushell hath inclosed the said cross lane into his back side of the house Mr. Clayton now lives in, so that he hath no way of right into the said spinning place, but that I permit him at present a cart way by the bridge, for which passage he and his executors are to allow me and my subtenants a passage cross his spinning place to the seser dore in Fenwick Hall, or to what cellars or warehouses I or my assignees shall cause erected in Fenwick Hall back side, the wall of which cellars or warehouses shall be in the wall joining to the spinning place. If you would see more of this cross lane was to be left open, vide Mr. Bushell's lease of his second house, which is that house Mr. Clayton* now lives in. In that lease the cross lane is particularly named. Remember Mr. Bushell can claim no other way by his lease, for that the passage by the bridge, which now leads into the spinning place, was in Thomas Wainwright's lease of his house for to be his back side, which said Thomas Wainwright resigned his interest there long since Mr. Bushell's lease of this spinning place was signed; so that at the time of Mr. Bushell's lease signing, there being no way, he can claim no way there; but if he will have a way, it must be through the cross lane above said, as

The house Mr. Birch lives in at the west end of the spinning place.

Corporation for fifty years, there is a license to pull down the "remaining ruins," as recited in the act for building St. George's.

Birch never enjoyed, or was soon dispossessed of, this bargain.

* This Clayton we suppose to be Thomas, mayor in 1680: whether he was any relation to William, of whom, in the *Norris Papers*, we had occasion so often to make mention, does not appear. William was son of Robert, of Fulwood, near Preston. The mode in which these two Claytons are set down in the list of mayors — firstly, as esquires, and secondly, as serving the office without having been bailiffs, which with townsmen seems never to have been permitted — would show that they were held to be persons of importance.

it was always intended for his passage; yet if he permit me and my assignees a way to Fenwick Hall cellar and back side as aforesaid, in God's name let him have a way there, not else. This house in Castle street, I have set what fine and rent I would have you make it; and for the spinning place, never fine it, unless you reserve at least thirty pounds per annum rent, and then let it go in a lease by itself; so may you make this one lease into three several leases. And whereas now all is leased for two shillings a year, you may very well make two pounds eight shillings per annum of the house in Castle street, and a good fine, and raise the house Mr. Birch lives in to forty shillings a year old rent, and sixty pounds fine, and either of them three rent hens, and the spinning place to a fine and thirty pounds rent a year. Thus instead of two shillings a year to me, you may have thirty-four pounds per annum and at least a hundred pounds in ready money fine, and six rent hens.

Mr. Birch's house, thirty-five yards of ground there: query?

Remember as to the thirty-five yards of ground in this lease. It is now taken for a back side to the new house Mr. Clayton lives in; so that if the lives in this lease should expire before the lives in Mr. Bushell's second house, which Mr. Clayton now lives in, remember you may seize on the back side according to the yards and inches in the lease, unless you be otherwise agreed withal. Dividing your leases makes you have a greater interest, and whenever you come to fine them, you will find small things will have ten chapmen for great things one, and so consequently far more ready money. In this lease for these two houses and thirty-five yards of ground, together with the spinning place, are the lives of him the said Will. Bushell, Thomas his eldest son, and Mildred his eldest daughter; one rent hen; old rent, 2s.

FINLOW RICHARD.

His old rent was fourteen shillings a year; this is only a house and a good back side; I had only a small fine for it. In regard, my uncle Robert More got his mother with child, he procured me to give her this house for nothing. This Richard is her son, a

very honest fellow: but when I made the Fenwick-street, I took a little piece of his back side from him, which now lies to Robert Worrell's house; and he made me give him a life or two, I know not whether, into this house, for nothing, and likewise to abate him seven shillings of his old rent, and to abate him two days' shearing; and all this was for a little piece of his back side, the which I know he could not have set for five shillings a-year; yet you may see what you must expect from your tenants, if they find your necessities require their help. Therefore serve God, and look honestly to your own; for there is not a foot I have had from any one of them, but they have made me pay ten times the worth of it. Here belongs to this house a fair length to the front of the Castle-street, — I mean to the border stones, — to which, according to the custom of the town, you may lawfully build. Remember as to the back door, which owner, William Bushell, hath out of his house at the south end upon Richard Finlow's, is but of courtesy, by the permission of Archibald Finlow, who was father to this Richard, to fetch water at the said Mr. Bushell's draw-well, near thereunto adjoining. And I have heard the said Mr. Bushell confess, that if the said Richard Finlow have ever occasion to build to the front he may, if he please, build up so far as the border stone, and join to his gable end, and stop up the way out of the back door which at present is open. This house will be worth fifty pounds fine, and to raise the rent to one pound a-year. Lives in it are: him, the said Richard, John his brother, and Ann his sister; three rent hens at Easter; one day's shearing. Rent, £0 7s. 0d.

Bridge, Widow,

A poor old woman. Her own sister, Margaret Loy, being arraigned for a witch* confessed she was one; and when she

* The first ten years after the Restoration were prolific in witch causes. The mode of witchcraft thus detected in Liverpool has the peculiarity of the familiar having been received as a legacy. In most cases the obtaining power from the devil followed a compact, in which the recipient showed a volition, and paid a price

was asked how long she had so been, replied, Since the death of her mother, who died thirty years ago; and at her decease she had nothing to leave her, and this widow Bridge, that were sisters, but her two spirits; and named them, the eldest spirit to this widow, and the other spirit to her the said Margaret Loy. God bless me and all mine from such legacies: amen. This house is out of lease, yet for charity I permit this old woman to be in it only for the old rent; whenever she dies put her daughter out of it, for she is one of the wicked, drunken, swearing, and cursing women in England, and a lewd woman besides. God bless us from her: amen. This is a

for the favour conferred. The difference between the sorcerer's and the witch's fortune is correctly stated by Grimm; the former being sometimes rich, the latter always poor. Dapper, in the Alchemist, asks for

> a familiar
> To rifle with at horses, and win cups;

and Marlow makes Faust hesitate as to the gratification of ambition, avarice, or love. Not so the familiar of Demdykes or Mother Sawyer, who merely came to gratify spite. "Fantasy, tradition, knowledge of drugs, poverty and idleness," says Grimm, "have all made witches out of old women; the three last have converted shepherds into sorcerers." The first kind of familiar was the Kobold, the goblin of our ancestors, a merry, active, though somewhat irritable, household drudge. "To this day, (1816,) they say proverbially of a woman who gets work quickly out of hand, She has the Kobold. Who makes him angry must take care." (Deutsche Sagen.) This anger chiefly arose from being deprived of the "well earned milk bowl, duly set." The successor to this blameless spirit, the witch's familiar, is every way a disgusting creature. How far this, and all the other attributes of modern witchcraft, sprung from, or were coloured by, presbyterianism, and the other modes of puritanism, is an interesting enquiry. Obsession had a close relation to dispossession; that is, a desire to exorcise often produced the witch. Every thing seemed to change sides in witchcraft; the minister of the Reformed Church urged its existence, and the Jesuit took the opposite view. Sir Matthew Hale, in 1665, condemned witches; and Butler ridiculed the idea of their reality. The law floated on the current of the popular belief—

> The judges of assize, without more proof,
> Suspect, arraign, and burn for witchcraft.
> *City Watch*, Act v. s. 3.

At last the devil was held to be more respectable than a witch — Nulla enim mala non egisset Dæmon nisi provocatus a Sagis. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, witchcraft, which had entered through Italy about 350 years before, disappeared from Europe, making its farewell in Scotland and Sweden.

brave place to build on a gallant house and a great back side. You may have one pound a year rent, three rent hens, and three days' shearing, for it; or, may be, you may lay the next house at the south end to it; and then it would be a most stately place indeed. Consider well what you do, two houses being better than one. Rent at present, £0 13s. 0d.

Vide Mercer's directions, the next house to it, for more about this house convenience.

MERCER GILLS.

His daughter, by name a poor widow woman. This house is out of lease; yet out of charity I suffer her to live there, and hath done so this seventeen years. When she is dead, you may cause a brave house there to be built and a gallant backside; it will be worth one pound a-year. Consider well whether you had best lay this and Widow Bridge's house together, according as you meet with an able tenant. When you build here, come out to the border stone, according to the custom of the town. I could have had a hundred pounds for this and the next house; yet in charity I let them have it; I pray you do so till they die. Remember the Lord God will have an account of every idle thought, much more every wicked act; and that if you do well in this life, the Lord will reward you and yours for it; and if you grind the face of the poor, the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, will revenge their cause, because they have no other to relieve them; and he will save them, not for their sakes, but his own honour. I forgive her hens and shearing. Rent at present, £0 10s. 0d.

DALE STREET.

Vide Balard gift and Scote gift, and the rents.

WILLIAM ECTELLSTONS [ECCLESTON].

This house is of the gift ———

LORTING, PETER,

Alderman. (For his character vide his name in the Juggler street, for the house late Tatlock's.) This house and a very good back side. Query: what lands in the field of Liverpool? This house is well worth one hundred pounds fine, and, to make up the old rent, two pounds a-year. Fail not. Query: if the Pool ever come to be cut navigable, whether this back side may not be convevenient to build on? Three days' shearing; three hens at Christmas. Remember he holds two houses more, which hath a great deal of land to them, for which he pays both hens and shearing; the one in the Juggler street, the other in Tithebarn street. (Vide them both in this house.) Lives: himself, Ellen his wife, and Ellen his daughter. Remember he hath built a brave house since this lease. Rent, £1 6s. 8d.

LORTING, JOHN, BALY.

Vide his name in Old Hall street.

TARRELTON, [TARLTON,] JANE,

A poor widow. Her husband was drowned at Dublin, and I gave her a lease for three lives in this house for fifteen pounds, although thirty pounds was named (when I was offered sixty pounds), merely out of charity, she having many small children. This house stands in good place, and hath a brave back side; and whenever it comes out of lease, make it forty shillings, and forty pounds fine, and you use them well, more especially since they paid

so little for this lease. Here is a good back side. Query, if ever the pool be cut, whether it lie not convenient to build on? Lives in it: her, James and John her sons by George Tarrelton, deceased; three rent hens at Christmas; three days' shearing. Remember to view this house, for she lets it go down for want of repair. Old rent at present, £1.

BANKS, NICHOLAS,

A very knave; a great hunter of coneys in my warren. I bought this house of my cousin Hen. Hockenhall of Tranmere. This Bankes hath a lease from my cousin Hockenhall, still in being; and although I have several times offered to make him a lease from myself, and to admit him tenant, yet he never comes in to me, therefore it is most just, if ever it come out, to let him know how he is none of your father's tenant by lease, but by purchase; and so you look upon him as a stranger, and raise his rent to be twenty shillings a-year, and for fine thirty pounds at least. There is a long yard built downward, wherein there is at least three or four little houses of his under tenants. Remember to see, if the pool should be made navigable, if this back side may not be to build on. For hens, query? and lives, query? Remember here is a way at the west side of this house, in mene betwixt my tenant and Mr. Therwin's tenant. Rent at present, £0 10s. 0d.

OLIVES, MR.

He paid me no fine, but only built this house; it hath a good back side. Remember there is room at the east end to build another good house. When this house shall fall out of lease, it may well deserve sixty pounds fine and the same rent; and then remember you take the piece of ground from it which lies to the east end, only allowing a way for both houses through; the piece of ground you take away will deserve one pound rent a-year, three hens, and to have a house of one hundred pounds built thereon. But I charge

you remember, before you ever lease this, to know if the intention of cutting the pool navigable hold; for if it do, I then very well know, joining this back side and the next close of ground (upon which the great barn now stands, being in Mr. Baly Johnson tenement), those two joined together will make compase an ought to erect a brave street from the pool into this street; this and the next close to it east are two of the greatest concernment of any land in Liverpool, if the pool be ever navigable. (Vide Baly Johnson's directions in Castle-street.) Here is a chancery rent of —— pence to be paid for this land. This Mr. Olives is an honest gentleman, but hath no children; so whoever comes to it are but strangers, and deserves to pay more. Lives: him, the said William Olives, Anne his wife, and Peter Mears, nephew to the said Anne. Six hens at Christmas; and in lieu of finding to the light horse he pays three pounds of castle soap yearly on Our Lady Day in March. Rent, £ 0s. 0d.

For the barn and close in Dale street, now called the Tithebarn.

JOHNSON, BALY.

For his character and the convenience of this place, vide Johnson Baly in Castle-street; either to build three or four good houses fronting to the street, or else to join this back side with the other lying west, which is Mr. Olives's; and these two would make a most excellent street from the pool, if ever it be made navigable. Remember you never lease this barn and crofts with Baly Johnson's tenement in the Castle-street; the barn will now give you three pounds a-year; and as many houses you build from the barn eastward, fronting the street, will deserve so many twenty shillings. But before you offer to build here to the street, remember to see whether it were not better to build a street to the pool. Part of this is a little parcel of ground that old Thomas Blackmore* and one Ashbrook (both notorious knaves to you and your family) hath so troubled me, about a chancery rent of four shillings. Their allegation was, that

* Of Blackmore, who was member for Liverpool, 1658, it is stated, that he was an alderman, and had a horse and ten pounds, besides his further expences during his attendance on parliament, provided by subscription.

although Oliver Fairhurst's name was in the King's Rentaly for such a rent; yet it was for that he was tenant to Mr. Moore for this parcel of land, yet he paid it, whereupon they procured Sir Ralph Assheton, a very worthy gentleman, and king's receiver in this county, to send warrants to distrain; and when the pursuivant came, with great favour he was pleased to forbear straining, upon my promise to wait on Sir Ralph, and either satisfy him why I should not pay it, or otherwise let him use his pleasure. Accordingly, the day was set that both I and Blackmore and Ashbrook should appear face to face before Sir Ralph. You must take notice those two were feoffees for Oliver Fairhurst's children, and so acted with all the vigour imaginable against me, having both of them former malice to me. When the day drew near of meeting, lest they might have forgot, I sent them both word to remember our meeting; and their answer was, they owed not Sir Ralph so much service, neither would pay one penny of rent or go to him. Nothwithstanding, according to my promise, I waited on Sir Ralph Assheton at Whalley, and took with me such ancient rentals of the chantry of Liverpool, that Sir Ralph had not seen the like; and I likewise took with me one Thomas Wharton, who had been a servant to my ancestors for eighty years, and at that time was my steward, being then fourscore and sixteen years of age; and I likewise took with me one William Harrison, who had been a servant fifty-six years. Have in mind, what I proved was this — first, that Fairhurst, who, they pretended, paid the rent as Mr. Moore's tenant, was never tenant to my father John Moore, neither was he ever tenant to me, although I have been master of my estate this nineteen years: so what could he pay it for us, when in truth the said Fairhurst held nothing under us; neither had my father John Moore, or myself, in all our lives, anything to do with him. It's very true this Fairhurst's grandfather was, many years agone, tenant to my grandfather, Edward Moore, for the house which Baly Johnson now holds, late Mr. Heapy's; but it falling out of lease, my father, John Moore, many years agone (at least thirty years), made a lease of the premise to one Mr. Heapy, of all that which ever Fairhurst held under his father, Edward Moore. And in all this time there was never penny

Fairhurst's chantry rent.

demanded by the king's farmers (or by two generations of this Fairhurst's ancestors); but Fairhurst's father and grandfather still paid this chantry rent: till now these two fellows which had a malice to me, and were only feoffees in trust, and so, consequently, could do as the jaconapes did by the cat, having a mind to some chesnuts which were in a hot fire roasting, made use of the cat's foot to pull them out of the fire; so these two malicious fellows could make use of the poor orphan's money, under pretence of doing charity, to put me to trouble and expense. I likewise proved, by ancient rentals, neither I nor my ancestors had any more chantry land than what I duly paid for; and that my acquittances to that very day were always made in full. I likewise proved by Thomas Wharton, for seventy years, there was never more demanded by the king's receiver than what my acquittances there expressed, and Will. Harrison, for fifty years, averred the same, having several times paid the rent themselves. We likewise proved that Fairhurst held the corner tavern next the high cross in Liverpool, by lease from one Mr. Maghull of Maghull, and that all the houses on both sides it were chantry land, viz., the town hall of Liverpool, and the houses of Mr. Richard Moore of the Finch-house was on the east side, so, in probability, that might be chantry land; and likewise it appeared that Fairhurst had been their tenant for many years. The truth is, this put Sir Ralph Assheton* to much trouble, for he was pleased the most part of two days to give himself the pain of searching most of the records concerning Liverpool; and at last, upon the view of all his papers, together with serious consideration of what was proved before him,

* Without endeavouring to apportion to each of the three Lancashire Ralph Ashtons, of Middleton, of Whalley, and of Downham, their respective deeds, in which at present there exists some confusion, they being all on the parliament side, we may affirm of Sir Ralph Ashton of Whalley, that he hardly ranks with those against whom, on account of the impunity they enjoyed after the Restoration, men who suffered, as Axtel, &c., had a bitter feeling. Sir Ralph's father died 1644; and the son does not appear to have been in parliament, although he was nominated a sequestrator. He was a presbyterian, and his politics were not probably very dissimilar to those of the Booths; and, like them, he was in favour during the early part of the reign of Charles the Second.

he declared himself satisfied that I, Edward Moore, nor my ancestors, neither had ever paid it or ever ought to have paid it, neither should we ever be troubled again for it; and since then it is four years, and I have been never demanded it since. If ever you should be troubled again, the only way were to get a commission upon view to see how the town hall joins to Fairhurst's tavern on the one side, and Mr. Richard Moore on the other side; and then I am confident they would find they are all three chantry land. Besides this tavern pays no burgage rent, as all the whole town pays either burgage or chantry, neither pays any chief rent to any; all which is a great probability this is the very place Fairhurst pays it for; for I know no place but pays chief rent to some. Now Mr. Maghull says his deeds will show the tavern is no chantry land. I answer, there is many places which the fee is reserved; and yet, by gift, a certain rent hath been bequeathed to such an altar for a singing priest, there for ever, as in Liverpool many were.

This barn and field pays me nothing, all being in Mr. Baly Johnson's lease. Remember to divide them whenever they fall out of lease.

GARDINER, WILLIAM,

A very honest man; but his wife is an odd kind of cunning woman; will never pay rent or hens, but hath several times cozened me; therefore make her pay the rent at the day, otherwise she will swear she hath paid you. He gave me no fine for this house, but only to build a house there which hath cost him one hundred pounds. Raise this house to thirty shillings a year, and forty pounds fine; this is too little by far, were he not an honest man; otherwise it deserves sixty pounds, and forty shillings rent. He pays three days' shearing and three rent hens. To this house belongs a fine close of ground lying just on the back side of the house. Fail not to make it thirty shillings per annum at least and forty pounds fine. Lives: him, the said Will. Gardiner, Elizabeth his wife, and Dorcas his daughter. Rent, 10s.

Remember to cause him to build from the north end to the gate, or to make a stone wall, lest the town in time claim that piece of ground to be theirs.

WIND MILL.

This you hold in fee farm of the king at the rent of thirty shillings a year, which, considering that your ancestors built it, and are forced to keep a carrier, the which is a man and a horse, charges more than ordinary, which, together with the daily repairs and casualties is as much near as the mill is worth, or more, had not you so many tenants of your own, which are great bread bakers, and are bound to grind with you at some of your mills. In former times there was never any carrier, and then it was as good a windmill as most in the county; but since Mr. Crosse set his windmill to tenants, they, to get custom, set up the device of a carrier, and we, to keep custom, were forced to have one too; so that if ever you could buy Mr. Crosse's mill, you need keep no carrier; for this reason, you must know they must then either grind with you or be without. Remember there can never any more mills be erected within the manor of Liverpool, but what are now in being; for this reason, yours is the king's mill, and you pay him a great rent; and are at the charges of at least twelve pounds per annum upon the maintenance of a man and horse for carrying, and at least five pounds per annum of repairs, and nine pounds per annum board wages for a miller, which, in all, amounts to twenty-seven pounds ten shillings per annum, that must go in ready money out of purse yearly: besides, if a casualty by a stress of wind come, which often falls out, the mill may be damnified ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or more, of pounds. Upon these considerations my grandfather, as he was tenant of your king's mill, preferred his bill in the duchy against one . . . . . both of whom erected horse mills in the town; but after a great suit, and several full hearings on both sides, there was a decree made in the duchy, that as he was the king's farmer within the king's manor, there ought to be no private mills, and those who erected them were fined, and both the mills pulled down. Now, of late Capt. Fazakerley hath erected a mill in the castle, which he pretends is not in the liberty of the town. Query, if you may pull it down, since it is none of the king's mill, nor pays him no rent? or

Mills.

There must be no mills but yours in Liverpool.

query, how there might be an order made in the mayor's court, to see who doth suit at the king's mill? and so to procure an order, the tenants belonging to the king may not go from the king's mills out of the liberty of the town. Remember one other thing of great concernment: within the memory of man, the Lord Mullinex hath erected two water mills in Toxteth park, and raised dams for them within his said park; and since these late wars, hath laid the water over and upon the moss or turf room belonging to me and my ancestors for many hundreds of years, which moss lies within the liberties of Liverpool; but the times growing peaceable, and I intending to get a dig for turfs, as all my ancestors have done, I could not get the said turf by reason the Lord Mullinex caused his millers to lay their dams upon my moss in a great height; whereupon I Moss lake. caused one . . . . . to scour an old ditch, over which there is a great stone* plate, that hath for many hundreds of years been the usual water-course to take the waters off my firing; and when they had opened the old water-course, the Lord Mullinex sent me a threatening letter, how Liverpool heath was all his, and this ditch was made upon the heath, and he would command his tenants in Toxteth park to come and put it all in again; whereupon, considering it was just at the king's restoration, so that all those red-letter men were so high, and that the chancellor of the duchy was the Lord Seymour, near a-kin to him upon the account of his eldest brother, she being a Seymour; and likewise, by the same lady, the lord treasurer of England was his brother-in-law; all which considered, made me Moss. sit down with this great wrong, yet not the first by many that family

* This stone is said to have occupied the place here described in the year 1815. The course of the brook is somewhat variously given; but it took its rise in Moss Lake Fields, and, entering Byrom-street at the north end, flowed down the site of that street, Whitechapel, (then Frog-lane,) where, in 1663, ships were built, through Paradise-street, to the Pool or Old Dock. The stream was, of course, acted upon by the tides, and we believe is more troublesome now that it makes its way through drains, than are the similarly disposed of brooks in London and Manchester. In a cellar affecting town like Liverpool, such an underground accompaniment must necessarily be as disagreeable as pestilential.

hath done us,* and to be contented with less fires, till it shall please God to raise me a greater interest and him a weaker; and then, if an opportunity serve, to endeavour by all just and honest means to get your own right, which may be done as follows. If ever you be mayor of Liverpool, when the grand jury is chosen, I mean that jury which go round the town for viewing all common nuisances and water-courses, then you may inform them that you hold ten acres of moss under the broad seal of England, out of which your ancestors have usually gotten all or most of their yearly fire; but by reason of a common water-course, over which there is an ancient plate of stone, lying in the highway to the town of Liverpool, is stopped, so that your moss is drowned; therefore you desire the jury may view it, and find whether the town (it lying in the highway) ought to open it, or that they will make an order for you to do it. For evidence

Liverpool heath.

Remember, when you are mayor, concerning your moss.

* Richard, second Viscount Molyneux, married Lady Frances Seymour, eldest daughter of William, Duke of Somerset, by whom having no children, Caryll succeeded, on his brother's death, as third Viscount. Lady Frances became the third wife of the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer; the father, by his first wife, of Rachel, Lady Russell. Lady Frances, again becoming a widow, married a third time to the Earl of Holderness. This lady was niece to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the parliament's general. She was not, however, very near of kin to Francis, Lord Seymour, of Trowbridge, then Chancellor of the Duchy.

In the elaborate pedigree of the Stanleys, given by Baines, this Richard, Lord Molyneux, is made to marry Lady Henrietta Marie Stanley, born 1630, and who died wife to Lord Strafford, 1685. Now, as Richard, Lord Molyneux, is always stated to have died soon after the 3rd of September, 1651, and as both the ladies (Stanley and Seymour) to whom he is said to have been married, lived long after that period, as this first wife had her maiden name of Lady Henrietta Marie Stanley up to the time of her father's execution in October, 1651, and so signed herself in a letter to Tyldesley, a few weeks before that event, we must reject this imputed alliance between Molyneux and Stanley. We suspect the compiler of the pedigree has sought to illustrate the passage in the cotemporary tract (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 47), and Rigby's statement (*Ibid*, p. 326), and so asserted the marriage. Those two evidences of its existence occur in 1642, when the lady was twelve years old, and we accept them as proof of a betrothal, but it never proceeded to solemnisation; and Lord Derby, in his *Treatise*, speaking "of Lord Mullinex and others of our side," adds, "with whom, nevertheless, is a large story of the great trouble I had with them, as well as with the enemy." In short, Lord Molyneux assumed an independent command, and the Earl resented it.

to the jury produce those men who scoured the old ditch to swear they did but scour it, for that there had been an old ditch there before; and likewise produce the old stone plate, and them to swear they found it there, and which all the jury upon view may see it is the right course of the water for there away to fall, the other way towards the park lying higher. You may do well to get Mr. Crosse's heir to join with you, and all others who have any turf rooms there, for that this is the old and only way for drawing the water off the said moss, as is most evident by a jury, the water never going the other way till those mills were made, which is in man's memory; neither did the millers of the park mills ever make a dam there; but in the time of the wars that every man did what they pleased; and for since the wars one of my Lord Mullinex's tenants, by name Captain Crofts, when the millers stopped the water at the park wall, which made the water lie high on the moss, the said Captain Crofts hath usually caused his servants to open the passage, and said there was no dam to lie in his tenement, neither should there be any there; and when he opened in his tenement it drew the water off the moss, yet not half so dry as the old water-course, over which the stone plate is. Besides there is two great reasons wherefore the town ought to keep that water-course the right and usual course, which, if otherwise, it may prejudice the town very much: the first is, there is no water-course convenient or about the town for skinners, dyers, or other such trades, as this is which makes the continual water stream which runs down the Gout to the Pool bridge, so that if this stream should be turned, such tradesmen will have no encouragement; the second reason is, if ever the pool be cut navigable, of necessity all such cuts, wherein ships are to ride, must either have a considerable fresh stream to run continually through it or it will quickly wreck up, or else there must be convenient places for raising great dams of water to let out with flood-gates when necessity requires for cleansing of the channel; and truly God and nature hath made all the places between the pool and the stone plate so convenient for raising excessive great dams, and that so convenient out of the way, to the prejudice of none, and then to supply these dams, so great a fresh from

Moss of Liverpool.

The water stream from the moss, the advantage of Liverpool.

off the moss lake, that though my eyes may never see it, yet I am confident that God Almighty, which makes nothing in vain, hath ordained this to be the greatest good for this town. Therefore I hope the town will never lose the advantage of the water coming that way; for if they do, all they are worth cannot procure a stream to cleanse the pool, as above said. If once you are of the council, your oath obliges you to care for the good of the town; and if you be not, your interest is so involved with theirs, that take this as a warning from me, that if they prosper you must thrive, and if the town sink you must drown: so as where a finger be cut, the whole body feels it; so you, in your interest, being a member of that body, it can receive not the least sere either in loss or repute, but your estate or person will be damnified thereby. Therefore, in the name of God, let them love you, and you them, and twenty of the greatest men in the county cannot wrong you; but if you quarrel, you are easily broken. God bless you both. Amen. Remember that when you get this watercourse opened, it will not only be so advantageous for the town, but will make the turf room so dry, that I dare assure you, you may sell fifty pounds worth at least of turf to the town in a year; for, of my knowledge, you have good black turf at least four yards deep; if so, it may be worth two hundred pounds an acre, and you have ten acres of it; in a word, you know not what it may be worth, lying so near a great town; and if you leave half a yard of the bottom ungotten, once in forty years it swells and grows again. Besides this interest of your turf, if the water be taken from off the moss lake, it will be better for your windmill by ten pounds per annum, for that it will make the park mills want water, their greatest supply being from that lake. Remember the greatest improvement I can advise you, to put a hundred pounds to his near your windmill in the close, which now William Gardiner hath. Cause another windmill to be erected, for you need but one carrier and one horse to them both, and a miller, and a boy of a cheap wage, of about sixteen years old: in doing so, and making the water to run the right way, you may easily make your two windmills worth eighty pounds per annum, or more, for my grandfather hath formerly set this mill for twenty-seven

Wind mill.

Two mills together would bring you £20 in the £100 for the building another mill.

pounds per annum; but now the carrying and the park mills takes off much, so that all charges borne, and the mill kept in as good repair as I gave it them, I have now during the lease but ten pounds yearly and two bushels of wheat at Christmas for it. But if there were two mills, considering the great store of tenants you have in town, and that one carrier would serve them both, truly it is not to be thought what advantage they would bring you, especially observing the rules to your customers, which I have set down in the directions for your horse-mill: (therefore vide horse-mill in the Castle-street.) Old rent of this mill is £10, and two measures of wheat yearly.

CADOCK, THOMAS.

This is a poor old house, but stands in a very good part of the town. I had but twelve pounds for putting in a life when there was two lives before. There belongs to this house a large back side, the which I would have you take special notice, whether the laying of the other three houses to the westward, their three back sides being all mine, that is, the two of Roger Harrison and that of Eccos, will, I think, make a most fair plot of ground for a street to go across from thence into the Tithebarn-street, through in land there in possession of Alderman Peter Lorting: (vide Lorting, Peter, Tithebarn-street.) Query, what lands in the field of Liverpool lies thereto? The man that is my tenant, I know him not; he lives in London; he pays three days' shearing, three hens at Easter. Lives: him, the said Thomas Cadock, Thomas Higgison, son of George Higgison of Kirkdale, and Marjery March, wife of Thomas March of Dublin. You may make this rent one pound a year and twenty pounds fine; or else one pound a year rent, and bind them a new house, and give you twenty pounds fine too: but I charge you, before you set it, see for a street backward, as before. Rent now is but 10s.

HARRISON, WIDOW.

A very pretty house and an excellent back side; if out of lease, worth one hundred pounds fine. There is only her life in it. But I have made another lease to young Mr. Chapman and his wife, for twenty pounds. I know I might as well have given it for nothing; but this Mr. Chapman is a very pretty merchant as ever lived in Liverpool, and hath obliged me, and I promised a favour; and now I have done it. God send him much comfort of his new lease. When he dies you may have your own rights, because he hath no children. Make this rent two pounds a year and fifty pounds fine, at least; but before you lease it, I charge you see if the joining of this back side with the other three of mine, which lies on either side of this, may not be most convenient to make a street from thence into the Tithebarn-street: (vide Lorting, Peter, in Tithebarn-street.) I am confident, with God's permission, you may make a street there. Lives in this house at present are, this old Widow Harrison, Mr. Chapman and his wife. Rent, £1 1s. 8d.

HARRISON, WIDOW.

For the house late Ascroft's; an indifferent house and a very good back side, and hath seven lands or more belongs to it in the town field. Query, how many? Make this rent well two pounds and fifty pounds fine. But I would rather never lease any lands in the field, for these all belong to your demesne; therefore never lease them except according to my directions. You may have for this house, without the lands, two pounds a year rent and a good fine. I charge you never lease the house and lands together. Before you lease this house see whether this back side, together with Eccos's on the west, and my other two houses on the east, be not most convenient to make a street into the Tithebarn-street: (vide Peter Lorting's, in Tithebarn-street.) I hope you may here build a street.

Eccos, William,

Wine cooper; for the house late Balshaw's (and one land is in the lower Hevilands, and the half land by Estem mill dale). It is a pretty good house and a good back side, and one land and a half in this lease; besides he hath another lease of me for one land and a half in the Hevilands more. Make this house thirty shillings per annum and twenty pounds fine. But before you lease it, see if this back side be not convenient to join with the other three, which are my lands, lying eastward from this house; so to make a street into Peter Lorting's, in Tithebarn-street: (vide Mr. Lorting's there.) In this lease is only his own life; three days' shearing, three rent hens. Old rent, 13s.

Eccos, William,

Wine cooper, above said; another lease for one land and a half in the old field. Lives: himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Elizabeth his sister. Rent, 9d.; fine, £7. This half land is but the fourth part of a land.

Hacking, John.

For his character look his name in the Tithebarn-street. When this falls out of lease, then falls two houses and the close in the Tithebarn-street. If he die, I charge you never let his half-sister have nothing to do with it, for never was poor man so wronged as he hath been by her. Although he was his father's only son and child, by a first venter, yet his father married a second venter, and gave the whole estate during that wife's life, so that he was almost forced to beg his bread for seventeen or eighteen years; and this half-sister still keeps the house from him, notwithstanding there is no life in it but his, and will not bate him one penny of a hundred pounds for this bare house and garden for his own life: therefore, before witness, I declared to her she must never expect any thing there

than his life, although she would give a hundred pounds more than its worth, according to a note I drew up and signed (vide that note in my alphabet). Remember at the east end of this house is the passage, where, if God permit, I intend a street, so you may build all along in the garden of one side the street; and when you come so far as the croft, then build on both sides. If God bless it, there will be a great many pretty little houses for seamen; and for this main house of itself (without the croft or the two little houses in the Tithebarn-street, or the barn there) will deserve one hundred pounds fine, and the same rent it now pays; and you may make the other houses leases to others by themselves: (vide Hacking's house, in Tithebarn-street.) Three hens at Christmas and two days' shearing. Lives: none but this John Hacking's. Rent, £2 10s.

MORE, RICHARD, MR.,

Of the Finch-house, and his heirs for ever, a year's chief rent for the land and houses, sometimes one —— Higmought's. Vide —— Higmought's deeds: you have them in keeping; they will inform you more. Rent, ———

SUGAR-HOUSE CLOSE.

This croft stands on the left hand the Dale street, as you go out of the town, almost over against Mr. Olives's house, in this street. This croft fronts the street for some twenty-seven yards, and I call it the Sugar-house Close, because one Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker at London,* a man, as report says, worth forty thousand

* The plague, 1665, and the fire of London, 1666, are stated in the following document to have been a great source of increase to Liverpool. The date of Moore's *Rental*, 1667-8, is, therefore, an important era in the history of the town; and the movement thus caused may be taken as the motive which induced the landlord to review and set down the capabilities of his estate. The advowson of Walton, so carelessly dealt with, had long been with the Molyneuxes, and was sold to the Heathcotes, 1747.

pounds, came from London on purpose to treat with me; and, according to agreement, he is to build all the front twenty-seven yards, a stately house of good hewn stone, four story high, and then to go through the same building with a large entry; and there, on the back side, to erect a house for boiling and drying sugar, otherwise called a sugar baker's house. The pile of building must be forty foot square and four stories high, all of hewn stone; then he is to take the little [house] of Richard Rogerson in Dig lane, and make the back way in through there; then he is to encompass all his ground with a brick wall round. If this be once done, it will bring a trade of at least forty thousand pounds a year from the Barbadoes, which formerly

"The case of the Corporation of Leverpool, in relation to a bill for making a new parish and erecting a new church there. (Circ. 1699.)

"It was formerly a small fishing town, but many people coming from London, in time of the sickness and after the fire, several ingenious men settled in Leverpool, which caused them to trade to the plantations and other places, which occasioned sundry other tradesmen to come and settle there, which hath so enlarged their trade, that from scarce paying the salary of the officers of the customs it is now the third part of the trade of England, and pays upwards of £50,000 per annum to the king; and by reason of such increase many new streets are built, and still in building; and many gentlemen's sons of the counties of Lancaster, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, are put apprentices in the town. And there being but one chapel, which doth not contain one half of our inhabitants, in the summer (upon pretence of going to the parish church which is two long miles, and there being a village in the way) they drink in the said village, [Kirkdale?] by which, and otherwise, many youth and sundry families are ruined, therefore it is hoped the bill may pass, being to promote the service of God.

"The objections are, that we being the sixth part of the parish of Walton, the patronage of Walton doth belong to the Lord Mullinex, (who is a Roman Catholick,) and it is hard that his estate should be taken away. That the town have agreed with the present rector, and vicar, for their purchase money, therefore there is no present wrong; and Leverpool takes away but a sixth part, and at the same time taketh off the charge of more souls than is in the whole parish besides. Moreover they are willing to give for the perpetual advowson, that which shall be a reasonable price, considering there is a life upon it, having already offered his sollicitor to refer it to two indifferent men, they to chose one, and the town another.

"And it is hoped that so good a work as this bill desires shall not be obstructed by so inconsiderable a claim."

The above document has been lately acquired by the Chetham College Library, Manchester.

this town never knew. This house, it's thought, will cost at least one thousand four hundred pounds; and whenever it comes out of lease, it will be worth to you and your heirs fifty pounds a year of a good rent, for I would never have you lease it again. But if this gentleman should not build, then I advise you to have two good houses, taking the whole front to build them on: there will be two good back sides, and you may reserve twenty shillings apiece for either, besides shearing and hens.

DIG LANE,* *alias* TITHEBARN LANE.

ROGERSON, RICHARD.

A pretty little house, but stands in an odd place. Here is a good back side. He paid me no fine, only built the house. This house, raise it to twenty shillings rent and twenty pounds fine; I know it will give it. But if the sugar house be built, then this must lie to theirs, making a convenient way for them to come in with a cart to their back side; and besides, it will much enlarge their back side, which so good a house may well deserve. But if the sugar house be not built, remember, before you lease this again, here is a very convenient place at the north end of this house to build two or three pretty little houses on, and each a little back side, fronting your houses east, all to the lane. Those little houses will deserve five shillings a year apiece, two rent hens, and one day's shearing; and them to build them. This Rogerson is an honest man; use him well. Lives: Jane his now wife, Richard his son, and Mary his daughter, Three hens at Christmas; no shearing. Rent, 10s.

POUL [POOL] LANE.

BRADOCKE, WILLIAM,

A brick maker; a poor honest man. He gave Baly

* Dig lane, now Cheapside: both names are used in the map of 1768.

Blundell two pounds fine for his good will, and so came to be my tenant. Here is a most convenient parcel of land, if ever the pool be cut navigable, to build almost round it; I mean so far as lies to the river, there being not the like place in Liverpool to the river side for cellars and warehouses. Remember, when this Bradocke erected this little brick house, the town jury came to see it; and that the town should not be aggrieved by me, I gave them at least a foot of land all along from the south end of the building to the pool-wards so far as my land extends; and so it was staked out how far I should go, by the deputy mayor for the Lord Strange,* Mr. John Storaker, [Sturzaker,] and the eldest alderman, Mr. Andow, and Mr. Peter Lorting, alderman. Remember, this Bradocke is, when God makes him able, to build another handsome house, according to his lease; and this house is to be but office houses to him. Remember, I and my tenants have promised the town to keep a pavement at our charge, so far as this little house reaches in length, a convenient breadth for a footway; but the cartway, which the town is to repair, lies in the bottom. Remember that your tenant cause a wall to be made to save the ground from wasting away by the sea: for this I'll aver; on the south side next the pool, for a great way together, the tide hath taken away of my land at least eight or ten yards, so that, if ever you build a wall, you may regain what you can again of it. Remember that the fence on the north side belongs to Baly Blundell to make. For the worth of this place, I know not how to value it; for if the pool shall ever be cut, it may be worth five hundred pounds to you; therefore be careful what you do with it. This was bought by my father, John Moore, from Mr. William Moore, together with Jonathan Hunter's house in Water street, and a barn, now Sandi-

* Lord Strange, mayor, 1668, and afterwards when Earl of Derby, 1677. He was born 1656, succeeded his father 1672, and died 1702. He was the patron of Bishop Wilson, and is only remarkable for living a retired life during the Stuart reigns; but there are many traces of his having been of the Russell politics, and of his dislike to Charles and James. Lady Derby was the friend of Queen Mary, and at the head of her household; and Rachel Lady Russell entrusted the introduction into life of her daughter, Lady Cavendish, to Lady Derby.

ford's, late Rose's, in the Old Hall street: (vide Jonathan Hunter's house in Water street.) Lives: . . . . . Three days' shearing, three rent hens. Old rent, 3s. 4d.

Remember you improve your rent when it comes out of lease; and if you could buy Baly Blundell's little parcel of ground next on the north side to it, and so wall it all in together, you might make forty pounds per annum, with laying coals there for the sea, there being not the like place in Liverpool for that use. Consider well of this coal trade, and put it in execution.

MOORE, ROBERT,
Hath a most excellent close to build on.

JONES, RICHARD,
The like.

LORTING, JOHN,
The like. If you could buy them all, or indeed the last two, then add all your own close, which is now in Alderman Lorting's hand, and you might have a little town there built all on your own land. You might make one entire street, to begin at the gate that goes into Alderman Lorting's close, and then run south east directly to the Pool bridge; but remember you leave convenient land to make a street to face the pool east, if ever it be cut, and so to make houses fronting the pool, and their back sides to go backward till they reach the back sides of the street above said: then may you likewise cause houses to be built all up the Pool lane to the castle, and leave little back sides to them, to run eastward till they reach the back sides (on the west side) of the intended street above said. These four closes may be the greatest concern you have in England; for if the pool be made navigable, the shipping must lie all along these closes, and the trade will be all in them from the whole town. You may

have building here worth far more than twenty thousand pounds, if God send peace and prosper trade. I do not question but see this brought much to a head in my time.

LORTING, PETER,

Hath here a most excellent close to build on, which is my own land. If you begin your street, you must begin it at the gate belongs to his field, and so run it to the Pool bridge, according to my directions above said, round from John Lorting's downward to this very line, and then round Peter Lorting's in Juggler street; for this close belongs to that house. I have no rent for this close, and if it were built it might be worth near five hundred pounds per annum.

MEMORANDUM.

First, if possible, to buy Baly Blundell's and the field betwixt it and the More street; it belongs to Mr. Tarrelton's* (of In Pool Lane.

* The pedigree of the Tarleton's in Ormerod's *Cheshire* (vol. ii. p. 373) and in the *Herald's College* begins with Edward Tarleton, of the Church-stile House, formerly commander of the Dublin man-of-war; mayor 1682, died 1690, aged 70. Now Moore's *Rental* shows that this Edward was of a younger branch of the family, and that the heirs of Mr. Tarleton, of Aigburth, owned the land in Liverpool in Tarleton's fields and in the Castle hey. We have no account of this elder and landed portion of the Tarletons. In April, 1713, John Harrington, of Aigburth, (afterwards in the act described as of Huyton hey,) petitions to the lords for a bill to sell his wife's (Dorothy Harrington's) property, consisting of forty-three tenements in Liverpool. The estate so disposed of we take to be the elder Tarleton property, and this Dorothy to be the heiress of that family. Harrington street is, in the map of 1768, called also the Castle hey.

The custom of the neighbouring landed gentry gathering into the provincial towns, now only known by many a large and dull-looking house remaining in county and other towns, was then common in Lancashire. We find Hoghtons, Hopwoods, Stanleys, and others, occasionally residing in Manchester; and, besides other names elsewhere alluded to, in 1668, Robert Clayton, of Fulwood, the father of William, and Christopher Banastre, of Bank, lived in Liverpool. These two families subsequently merged into the Tarletons, by a marriage of John Tarleton, born 1719, mayor 1764, and dying 1773, after he had repurchased Aigburth.

Aigburth) heirs. If you have it, you might pull down your house Mr. Allcocke built me on the Castle hill, and there have a brave coming of the street end out towards the castle; and you might pull down at the west end of Thomas Norbery's in the More street, and so make a most convenient passage from thence into the More street. This field is most convenient for you of any man in England in regard of your land lying about it as it doth. And remember, you have four buts of land goes through the field, so as no man can build, but some part must be upon your land. Ralph Ectellston pays you five groats a year for it. Remember there is another close of Mr. Tarrelton's land in this Ectellston's hand. If possible buy them both.

Ectellston, [Eccleston,] Ralph,

For four lands, or buts, in the close called the Castle hey, pays me five groats a year. These are the lands I pay three

The descent of the pedigree commencing with Edward Tarleton, who married an Ireland, the grand-daughter of Edward Moore, the colonel's father, connects the Tarletons with almost every family of note in the town, Cleveland, Clayton, Livesey, Bayley, Corles, Rimmer, Houghton, Richmond, Williamson, Faulkner, and through Milnes with Pemberton: but there were of the name of Tarleton truly a legion. The eldest son of Edward, John, born 1650, the doctor, (whom the compiler of Lodge's *Pedigree* has mistaken for Dr. Norris,) by his first wife, Anne English, had seventeen children: his second marriage, which was unproductive, is the one added to the Speke descent, Anne, daughter and heir of William Cleveland and widow of Alexander Norris, mayor of Liverpool. This Alexander was probably a relation of the Speke family: his name-sake, so conspicuous as the county treasurer during the civil wars, resided at Bolton.

The Tarletons appear to have been the most influential family in 1668 at Liverpool. We gather from the *Rental* the following of this name, then in or near the town, the heirs of Mr. Tarleton: Michael, deputy mayor to Lord Derby, 1666; George, second son of John of Hallwood; Jane, a poor widow in Dale street, relict of George, who had been drowned at Dublin, and left two sons, James and John: not one of these appear in the pedigree.

The history of this family would be the history of Liverpool. Lord Derby leaned upon their support; and Atherton could only by their assistance, with whom he was connected, have won the representation. In 1688 the Tarleton power wavered under superior influences, but it was resumed a century later, and from 1790 to 1806, and from 1807 to 1812, Banastre Tarleton represented the town.

pence a year to the king's burgage for, as may appear by my yearly acquittances from the king's receiver. Concerning these four buts, and the close of ground they lie in, read the above said memorandums. My present rent is 1s. 8d.

CASTLE HILL.

CASTLE HEY.

ECTELLSTON, RALPH,

For four lands in the Castle hey, five groats a year. These are those lands I pay three pence burgage for, according to my acquittance: vide my memorandums of Pool lane, on the other side of the leaf, concerning this field, Mr. Tarrelton's land; and do as I direct, if you can buy it. My rent at present is only 1s. 8d.

Remember, here is for ever a footway in this field, common for all the king's liege people.

ECTELLSTON, ELIZABETH,

Daughter of Edward Allcocke.

ALLCOCKE, ANNE,

Daughter of Edward Allcocke, a pretty house on the Castle hill. For more directions, read Pool lane, Mr. Tarrelton's hey. This house, make it one pound rent and thirty pounds fine, at least. Lives in it: her the said Anne, and Elizabeth Ectellston's and Ellen Ectellston's, half-sisters to the said Ann Allcocke. This I bought of my uncle Robert Moore, when it was but a dunghill place. There is a deed, livery, and siesing, and a fine likewise, at Lancaster, and bond for performance: two rent hens at Christmas. Remember, I claim the stable that old Allcocke built in the Castle hey, over against the back side of this house, to stand on part of one of the ends of my four lands. Old rent, 1s.

MEMORANDUM.

Highway upon the Castle Hill.

The highway belonging to this house of mine upon the Castle hill, and all that row Thomas Preeson lives in, lies where the rubbish now is laid that was taken out of the castle trench; and that rubbish ought to be put into the trench again, that the king's people may have passages to their houses as formerly: vide the directions concerning the castle itself.

MORE STREET.

IMPRIMIS: Have for ever in mind that the ground whereon this street and houses now stands, was a small close of ground, called the Castle street Field, which said field I and my ancestors have for many hundreds of years enjoyed. And have in mind that every inch from the water side to the post and chains is my land. Have in mind that the passage through the said field, from the post and chains to the water side, being in some places fifteen feet broad, and in some places eighteen feet, which I now call the More street, is none of the king's highway, but only for the benefit of me and my tenants, and their assigns; and as to all other people, it is only a passage of sufferance; and to that intent I was at that great charge for setting post, and bribing them all with iron, and fixing there two great iron chains, the which I usually on all occasions keep locked, thereby to keep the soil and passage absolutely in me and my heirs, that none shall go there without licence. The great reason that caused me to be thus wary, was, Capt. Fazakerley of the Castle, finding he had so convenient a way to the water side, in one year had many hundreds of loads of coals brought to the castle. But when I understood his design was to make a way for the castle down my street, I forthwith caused the post and chains erected, and made him glad to carry the coals through the Pool lane to the ships, for the town made an order he should not carry them through the Water street, to break all the pavements there; and since that he never had any coals in the castle.

Have in mind, likewise, that these chains and post usually upon Sundays and holidays and rain weather, keeping them locked, reserves the interest in those streets solely and entire to you and your heirs; so that a hundred years hence, if you please, you may make gates, or what other use you please, as usually you do your own inclosed land, and to hinder all but whom you please for going thereaways. I do intend to have an entail of my estate; and amongst other things, as mill dams and the like, I will have the street put in that it is my land, and free to none but whom I please, or my assigns, to go thereaway. The reason why I am so strict is two, the first, that carts may not always break the streets to the great charge of my tenants; but those that carts, make them pay something yearly towards paving them, as many places in England doth; nay this very town of Liverpool, by a late order, makes all country carts pay twopence a load towards the pavement of the streets; and if they can make such an order of the king's high way, I hope I may either make such carts who comes thereaway pay, or make them go some other way. You may order those that lives near the posts to keep the keys and likewise to receive the money. Have in mind that I was at the charges of above twenty pounds for spademen, besides at least a hundred days two carts a day of my tenants for carrying the rubbish away. I was glad the first time to cut at least eight feet perpendicular in the rock at the west end, and so for that height and sixteen feet broad, to drive it many yards before the workmen. And since that, I began upon the fifteenth day of October, 1688, with three carts and four fillers a day, to cleanse the street again, and they were sixteen days together, to my great cost. And notwithstanding all this, Mr. William Bushell, who is a good, ingenious man, affirms to me I must be at the charge yet of taking the street down above half a yard from one end of the street to the other, and most of all that in the growing rock, which will cost at least twenty pounds more to stone getters, besides my tenants' carts to carry it away. And have in mind, after all it is at mine and my tenants' charge to pave it and so to maintain it; and all the streets in the town but mine are at this day paved out of the town's box. Have in mind that

from the water side at the west end of the More street to the post and chains at the north end of Fenwick street, that goes into the Water street, and from thence to the post and chains at the east end of Fenwick alley, that goes into the Castle street, and from thence to the east end Bridge's alley, is all within my own liberty, and no man hath one foot within me. The second reason why I am so strict is, I find in whatsoever lies within the town's liberty, they are a thousand times more strict than any gentleman; and forthwith a jury of hot and simple fellows fines you daily and hourly, either for some encroachment, the streets being dirty or not paved, and a hundred odd simple things more than I can here relate. But keeping your own interest, as before expressed, you need not fear their fines or amercements. There is no civility or favour to be had from a multitude. Let my sad experience forewarn you never to trust them; for if you do, I dare pawn my life they deceive you. Read Alderman Andow's character, and some others I have set down, and then seriously consider of it. I have most of what I have here written, concerning the street, already under the town seal, and Mr. Michael Tarlton's hand to it, when he was deputy mayor for the Earl of Derby. But if God permit that I ever be mayor, or, if I be not, if you ever be, I charge you have a discreet paper drawn up; show how far to those post and chains my liberties reaches, and how it is all my land, and how I was at charges of all, and how I and my heirs may lock it up, and a great deal more to that purpose, and how the town hath nothing there to do: vide the paper Mr. Tarlton hath already set his hand and seal to — that will instruct you something; and read this direction well over. Such a thing drawn and set by order in the town's book, and you to have a copy of it under the seal of the town, will for ever, with God Almighty's blessing, keep a right understanding betwixt you and the town, the which God grant may long continue. And so long as the town and you holds closely together, your interest, as a gentleman, to countenance them before the king, the privy council, or in any place or court of England, and their purse, discreetly managed, to back you, I must tell you, (my experience hath found it,) and dare tell to the face of the greatest

enemy the town of Liverpool hath in England, we value their malice not of a farthing, for nothing can destroy so great a body but faction; and if so great a charterer as you should betray them, and join with any other, it is the ready way to undo you both, and make you both a prey to the common enemy. Remember old Sekerstone's* rule, who was a parliament man for Liverpool, — save him and his, together with the good town of Liverpool and theirs, and then let the noblemen kill whom they please. I charge in the name of God never converse with any man, nor give ear to any man, nor trust any

* Ralph Sekerstone represented Liverpool from between 1568 and 1571, until the time of his death, which took place before 1586. The modern history of Liverpool begins with this man, and the testimony of Edward Moore to the affection which Sekerstone bore the town, is worthy of all remembrance. As he is called old, we must connect him with the renaissance of the borough, which after having no members in parliament for two hundred and fifty years recommenced electing them in 1547, (1 Ed. VI.) Sekerstone was as important an actor at this period as Sir Thomas Johnson afterwards. In 1551 Sekerstone was mayor, and again in 1560, and in 1574 contributed, as one of the few principal inhabitants of Liverpool, towards the defence of the kingdom. Whatever the town had been when Henry III. gave it a merchant guild, such as proud Preston still so gaudily displays, and such as with all its solemn and great fraternities, London possesses, and whatever meaning we may attach as indicative of bygone greatness to the avowal of the borough in 1535, that it was "decayed," yet the revival of 1547 was marked by the extreme simplicity of the corporate arrangement; and no "merchant guild," then, or afterwards, existed in Liverpool. To be sure, the income of Sekerstone's corporation, (£2 10s. 9d.,) did not justify much display; still, the position of the mayor and bailiffs, without any of those subordinate dignities which some trace to Roman institutions, others to the requirements of the feudal ages, but all hold essential to a municipality, is, we believe, unexampled. The borough was long governed by bailiffs. In Henry the Eighth's time we have the first distinct appearance of the mayor, and not until a century later, traces of a common council, and then of a body which be.. ..ne self-elected, because, as appears by Johnson's letters, it required the threat of a mandamus to get anybody to belong to it. Like the old Roman towns, Liverpool has achieved greatness,

quamquam non essent urbibus illis,
Prætexta, et trabeæ, fasces, lectica, tribunal.

JUV: *Sat.* x.

The only custom which savours of an ancient corporation in this town, is the payment of dues by foreigners trading there; and as the burgess-right, until a very late period in the last century, might be bought for a trifling sum, this apparently old municipal peculiarity is here of modern growth.

man, that desires you to join with him against the good town of Liverpool; for in so doing, beware lest his design be not to wound you through their sides. This you may boldly and truly say, the corporation and you have lived together this four hundred and odd years, and in all that time you have been in great affection one to another, and not one generation of so many hundred years but your ancestors have been mayors, many of them in man's memory two or three times apiece, and one Thomas de la More, in Ric. II., was in his life twelve times mayor, as you may see by your deeds, marked accordingly. And this you may further say of truth, which few if any of England can say of your quality, there hath not been a parliament this two hundred and fifty years, but one of your ancestors have been burgess for that town; and in man's memory, my father, John Moore, my grandfather, Edward Moore, and my great grandfather, William Moore, have been parliament men. These truths considered, there is nothing like self interest to keep all things well and good correspondence betwixt you. For if you serve God, keep your estate in that town, and be honest to them, let your enemies do what they can, time will weather them. And when the town recollects themselves, by the several slights and perfidious actings of those whom they have otherwise empowered, they will easily find it is not a foreign interest which will, to hazard of life and fortune, stand by them. But when all is done, if they will have their town preserved, and their privileges kept inviolable, it must be by your two friendships; for if you flee from them and put your interest in the other scale, it is of that weight, of my knowledge, will bring down the balance; I mean as to matter of law, you being the greatest charterer or freeholder in the town. What I have said before is upon the public concern of the town; and if there be any private person in the town who hath a malice to you as to your person, I would have you, as a good Christian, to be at peace and love with them if it be possible; but if fair means will not gain them, then openly let them know you value them not, and know your own interest; so that if they either keep guns, setting dogs, nets, greyhounds, or any other such things, you or your servants may take them, according to the law.

Besides, the proudest man in Liverpool cannot live there, if he go but into the town field, or indeed anywhere else about the town, but they must trespass upon you; and those that are your friends, you are able to privilege them to fish, fowl, or hunt, for three miles or more end-ways, in despite of any man in England, if God bless the king and the laws; and when wise men understands this, their own self interest will make them great with you.

No fowling, hunting, or coursing, without your leave.

Bushell, William, Bailiff,

For the house Mr. Birch now lives in. He never gave me penny fine; he built it. This is a very pretty house. He pays me no rent for it, because it is in the same lease with his house in the Castle street, and the spinning place, together with thirty-five yards to the eastward for a back side, goes all together in one lease, and I have but two shillings rent for them all. Whenever this lease fails, make this house in one lease by itself, and raise the rent to two pounds yearly, and sixty pounds fine, and three hens. Vide more particulars concerning this house, the spinning place, and Mr. Will. Bushell's house, in the Castle street, being all in one lease. I set at large every thing concerning them in the directions of Mr. Will. Bushell's house in the Castle street, (vide Castle street.) Rent, nothing. Lives the same as his in the Castle street house: vide.

Spinning Place. } Bushell, William.

This place now pays me no rent. It is worth forty pounds a year, if he slate it all over, as is intended. Whenever it fails, vide the Castle street, Mr. Will. Bushell's house there; for this being in lease with this Castle street house, I have set the full directions there, both of the spinning place and the house next above, which Mr. Birch now lives. Remember that Mr. Bushell hath no way into this place, in rigour, but through a cross lane which should have been at the west end of Thomas Gallaw's house, and this he

Vide more about the Spinning Place, reading the next house below directions all over.

hath now inclosed to the backside of that house of his, which now Mr. Clayton lives in. Remember I permit him a way at present by the bridge, out of courtesy, that I may have a way thereaway to the back cellar door of Fenwick Hall. Vide more my directions at large in the Castle street house, as above said, all being in one lease. Remember only this, whereas I have heard that Mr. Bushell will raise a furnace by the bridge, in a corner there, to boil his tar in; take notice he cannot do it, for it will not only be a common nuisance to Fenwick Hall, but all Fenwick street; therefore he neither can nor must do it. Lives the same as in the Castle street house: vide. Rent, nothing,

Bushell, William, Bailiff,

For the house, Mr. Clayton's. He built this house, and sets it now for sixteen pounds per annum; but I know one, when this lease is expired, which is to Mr. Clayton for five years, will give him twenty pounds per annum. He only pays me two shillings old rent for it. Whenever it falls, let the old rent be raised to three pounds a year at least. Remember here is a place at the west end to erect a goodly house on, it being as good a place as is in the town to build a house on; besides, it will set forth the street very much, in filling that vacancy. You may have forty to build thereon, it is so convenient; and reserve one pound a year old rent. The fine of this house will be worth a hundred and fifty pounds, and three pounds yearly old rent, at least. Remember he had three lives in the field this house stands on, and I was glad to give him twenty one years after, to give me the remainder of the close upon which I have now built this street. He pays one rent hen at Christmas in this lease; he hath in lease but thirty-three yards and four inches, beginning to measure from the water side wall. Remember to query if part of the back side, which ought to be thirty-five yards in length by my lease, lying to the house Mr. Birch now lives in, do not now lie to Mr. Clayton's back side of this house; and if so, when the house Mr. Birch lives in shall fall out of lease, then part of this

His great house next the water, Mr. Clayton lives there.

back side will likewise fall out of lease. Remember, in this lease is the Cross lane named to lie open, that is, measure from the stone wall west forty three yards and four inches, and at the end of that there must be a cross land, which now Mr. Bushell hath inclosed with his back side of this house. Remember, if it lay open, it would be very advantageous, for these following reasons: first, Mr. Gallaway would build a hundred or two pounds more in his yard for warehouses, and little houses for his own seamen; secondly, it would make a brave way into the spinning place, that as the houses fall out of lease to you, I am confident you might have building in all their back sides fronting to the said spinning place, and then, before your intentions are known, for under two hundred pounds may you buy one half of each of those crofts, which build all along upon the north side of the spinning place, and so make the place, which now they spin in, the street. This with two hundred pounds may be compassed, and then you may have a street there worth many thousands of pounds. But remember you let the way by the bridge lie to the spinning place too; if it should be a street, it would make it far more convenient. But if ever you think to do this, trust nobody but yourself, and then you may most easily bring it to pass. Remember that if ever any difference should happen concerning any of these houses in this lease of Mr. Bushell's, he has the original articles for the selling out of the whole street: vide them in this lease. Lives in this lease are: Matthew Bushell, second son of William Bushell, Anne Bushell, his second daughter, and Amy Bushell, his third daughter. Old rent, 2s.

Cross Lane.

Spinning Place, directions about it.

Vide the Cross Lane, and that there is no other way into the Spinning Place. Vide Fenwick Street, vacant place.

Articles, original, for the bounding More Street out first.

Vide the vacant place in Fenwick street, upon the west side next the bridge, to prove at large there is no way into the spinning place but through the cross lane, which is now made up by Mr. Bushell.

GALLAWAY, THOMAS,

Owner; the troublesomest fellow I ever met with. It's true he hath built a very excellent good house, and hath been built

this three years, and hath no lease of it. The reason is, I promised to let him have three lives in it as he should name, and nothing will serve him but he will have my two eldest son's lives; so I refuse it. I am resolved, if it cost me a hundred pounds in suit, not to grant it; and if by the law he can force me to it, then I am resolved to grant a lease of reversion of twenty-one years to my second son's children, if he have any, if not, to my third; so that he shall never enjoy it after their lease is expired. This fellow's wrangling already hath done me more harm than ever he is able to make me satisfaction. His base tongue, when in truth I never did him wrong, hath hindered me several houses building, and taken my good name away what in him lay. If it lie in your power, read this to him; and remember you make him pay three pounds old rent yearly, and a hundred pounds fine at least, or else never let him have it; this will encourage good tenants, and make such knaves as him afraid how they abuse their landlords, that never did them the least injury.

GARDINER, WILLIAM, BAILIFF,

A very honest man. He paid no fine, only built the house: it is a very good house. Let the old rent be raised to forty shillings per annum, and the fine to sixty pounds. Remember, to this house I found him one gable end, which cost me six pounds. Two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: Thomas and Hugh, sons of him the said Will., and Esther Gardiner, his daughter. Take notice, the rent will not pay the use of my six pounds laid out of purse. Rent, 6s. 8d.

WAINWRIGHT, THOMAS,

A very honest man. He paid no fine, only built the house. Let the old rent be raised to two pounds, and fifty pounds fine, at least; for I gave him twelve pounds in building the gable ends, so that the rent will not come to near the use of my money; two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: the said Thomas, Katherine his

wife, and Margaret Wainwright their daughter. Old rent at present, 10s.

Memd., the rent of ten shillings and two hens is by an agreement on the back of the lease.

SCASBRICKS, THOMAS,

An honest man. A good house. Make the old rent forty shillings a year, and the fine fifty pounds. Two rent hens Christmas. Lives ———.

PEMBERTON, JOHN,*

The apothecary, a base ill-contrived fellow. This man wronged this street five hundred pounds, for he being the first house on that side going up, all the rest of the street engaged to build uniform with him, so that had he built four stories, all the street had been so, and the houses towards the lower end of the street had been six stories high, to have made them level with his of four stories, in regard of the fall of the ground. I used all the civil means possible to get him to build higher; and when I saw he would not, I sent Alderman Andow, and the town clerk, Mr. John Winstanley, to let him know that, as we had always been friends, I desired the same continuance, and if he would not build it two stories higher, I would, all of my own cost and charge; but he positively denied me, and said he would not have it built an inch higher, his wife being the

* This John Pemberton issued a copper halfpenny, having his name, and the date 1666. Whether he was the father, or grandfather, of John Pemberton, the wealthy merchant of Liverpool, we do not know. Almost up to 1700, the second John Pemberton signed his name as junior. He left three daughters, one of whom died unmarried, another married an Ogden, the third a Milnes, and their almost innumerable descendants exist in Liverpool and Yorkshire. The Pembertons, not receiving municipal honours, were probably dissenters; and it is well to bear in mind the effect of Clarendon's bills, especially the five mile act and the test act, on society in a corporate town. Manchester's rise is distinctly to be assigned to its freedom from the restraints thus imposed.

only woman against it, whom I had never disobliged in all my life. Nay, Tho. Scasbrick, the next neighbour, would have out of his own purse have given fifty shillings for to have had him gone but one foot higher, thereby to have made his upper story something like; the fall of the ground, with Mr. Pemberton's foot, would have made his above two foot; but his refusal spoiled Thomas Scasbrick's upper room, so that one must creep that goes into it. Most of the town judge him beside his wits to deny so civil a notion, and thereby to spoil a fair street, and to get the dislike of his landlord. He replied, he cared not. In all this I showed not the least dislike, only said he was a hard man. Not long after, he being in my company in the street, and we were looking up at the house, one of the company demanded his reason why he had such a strange kind of glazing in the windows, neither head nor foot in them for matter of order; to which, in my hearing, he answered, the house was built in crosses, and he would do every thing that belongs to it in the cross. It pleased God, within a month, two of his children, and indeed all he had, died, both in a fortnight or less; then self interest began to make him recollect his wits; and to a friend of mine, began to blame his wife's ill counsel, by which I perceived it proceeded from a faction that had a desire to damnify the street, what lay in them, since the street was in building. In three or four of the houses are lives dead, and I freely renewed others for nothing; whereupon this impudent fellow made the same request to me, but I denied him, and I hope you will do the same. Make this old rent at least three pounds, and a good sharp fine. Lives: his own, Elizabeth his wife, and Elizabeth his daughter; two rent hens and ten shillings yearly, by an agreement on the back side of his lease. Old rent at present, 10s.

Bushell, William, Bailiff,

For the house now Captain Nixon lives in. He built it; only remember I built him two gable ends, which cost me twelve pounds; that will, before the house come out of lease, be an

ought to buy it. I only mention this, that you in reason and conscience demand a greater fine and rent. Make this rent three pounds a year, and eighty pounds. My cousin Chisnell offered thirteen pounds a year, for seven years together, for this house; but he could not get one Mrs. Cooke out of the parlour, and so my cousin went without it. He pays but one hen at Christmas; make it three hens as others be. Lives: Anne Bushell his second daughter, Christopher Brockbank, third son of Christopher Brockbank deceased, and Anne wife of the said William Bushell. Rent at present, 2s.

OWEN, JOHN, BAILIFF.

A very good house; but he pays me not one penny rent for it, having this house, and another in the Chapel street, with twenty-one lands and a half, all in the lease of his great house in the Water street: vide both his Water street and Chapel street houses. Remember, whenever they come out, lease these three houses to three several people; and for the twenty-one lands and a half, lay to your demesne of the Old Hall, as formerly they did. This Mr. Owen hath near forty pounds a year, and pays you no old rent to speak of. Make this house forty shillings a year rent, and thirty pounds fine; but if to a stranger, much more. He neither pays you hens, rent, nor bonus for it. Lives in it, and all the rest of the houses and land above said, only Anne Owen, wife to the said John.

DOWNES, ELIZABETH,
MERCER, MARGARET.

A joint lease for their two lives and one Mary Knott, spinster. They built it. I gave them two gable ends, which saved them ten pounds at least. Three rent hens at Christ. and three days' shearing. Make this rent one pound a year and ten pounds fine, because they are but poor people. The old rent at present is but 4s.

HARDMAN, DOROTHY,

(This lease is made to Alderman Andow, in trust for the orphans,) to enjoy this house during her life; then to go to her first husband's children, by name John Thomson and Ellen Thomson, children of John Thomson deceased. Make this rent one pound, and twenty pounds fine. They are orphans; be good to them; but if they should die, so that some others would have it, take at least thirty pounds fine, and one pound yearly rent. They pay now three rent hens at Christmas, three days shearing, and old rent, 4s.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM.

He built this house. They are but poor; therefore take the same rent and fine as in Dorothy Hardman's, next above said; but if to a stranger, the like to hers also. Lives at present in this, is him the said William Johnson, Katherine his wife, and John Thomson, son of John Thomson deceased. Rent hens now, three at Christmas, and three days' shearing. Old rent, 4s.

BALL, EDMUND.

He built this house. Make it one pound rent, and ten pounds, to him or his; otherwise, to a stranger make it thirty pounds fine and the rent above said. They pay now three rent hens at Christmas and three days' shearing. Lives in this house: Ellinor, wife of the said Edmund Ball, Richard his son, and Elizabeth Garice, daughter of John Garice, late of Liverpool, deceased. Old rent, 4s.

JOHNSON, ROBERT,

An arrant knave, one that grinds from my mill very often. He hath played me twenty slippery tricks; trust him not. Make him pay one pound rent and ten pounds fine, for he is but a

poor knave, and mercy must be had to his children; only, for being such a knave, make him to slate his house, as the whole street is besides himself. He pays at present, three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. His lives are, John his son, and Ellen and Elizabeth Johnson, daughters of the said Robert Johnson. Old rent, 4s.

VACANT GROUND TO BUILD.

Have in mind that here is, at the east end of Robert Johnson's house, a most excellent place to build a good house of. For all things concerning of it, look in Giles Mercer's and Widow Bridge's, in Castle street.

THE WELL IN MORE STREET.

It cost me about six pounds the sinking of it, for I did it all of my own cost and charges, not one contributing one penny towards it. When first I caused the place set upon, where I intended to sink, several people behind my back laughed and jeered at me, that I would offer to sink for water upon the very top of an hill, and more especially for that they said the Castle trench being so deep, would hinder me from finding water, unless I caused it gone an excessive deepness. Notwithstanding, I made the sinkers of the well continue on their work, desiring of God, privately, if it pleased him, I might find convenient water there. And I pray you mark the event. Whereas many, or most of the wells in the Water street, are above twenty yards deep, it pleased God to send me there water at fourteen yards; and whereas there is a great number of draw wells in the town, most of them are so brackish or salt, as it is conceived by some vein in the earth that conveys the sea into it, so that it spoils their ale, that strangers complains of a saltish taste; now my well hath nothing in the least of that saltishness, for I have heard two or three of my own tenants confess that this water, with four measures of malt, will make stronger and better ale than most of

the draw wells in town shall do with five measures, in regard of their saltishness. Besides, which is more than all this, whereas there is several scores of wells about the town, and great store of other water plenty, yet none of it was ever known to bear soap, so as to wash with it; but the whole town in general sends to a place called the Fall-wall well, a quarter of a mile near upon off the town, for each drop of water they wash with, or boil pease withal, so that it's a great part of a servant's labour to some houses for the bringing water from thence to use in their occasions. But blessed be the Lord God, this great trouble in part he hath freed most of the new tenants in More street from; for this new well water boils pease as well as any water of England, and likewise bears soap very well, so that most thereabouts washes their clothes therewith. And another observable thing besides: most of the wells about the town, in the summer time, if any stress for brewing be laid to them, are dry. But this well serves all More street till they can make wells of their own; and many of the townspeople comes to it besides; and in reason there is water for them all, far above the springs of other wells. Besides all these things, I can assure you this very water proving so good, and such plenty of it, did very much encourage my new tenants thereabouts, and hasten others to come to build there. Wherefore I charge you, in the name of God, that whenever you read this, whoever thou art of my name and blood, give God thanks in a particular manner for sending this spring to me, that am many years agone dead and rotten; and I charge you, in Christ's name, own it as his immediate gift, and desire of him to continue it to you and yours for ever, and that there may never want one of your posterity to be owners of the same, to God's glory and their comforts. Amen, amen, amen. Remember I was at the charge of building the wall about it; I paid near seven pounds starting for it. If you think convenient, you may build a room over the well, leaving it six feet high, for the maids to come about it. All the materials above ground the tenants contributed to, as rope, bucket, turn, and the like, and will so continue.

MONELY, JOHN,

The seaman; a petey house. I gave him one gable end for nothing. Remember this man and his wife were just like Mr. Pemberton; for when I saw they would not build the same height of Katherine Rose, the next house at the west end, I by some friend freely offered to be at charges of building it another story, for to have made it the same height as Mrs. Rose's house that joined to: and yet these people were so wilful and base, they would neither build it themselves nor let me do it. Therefore I charge you, if ever they have any occasion to use you, deal not with them till they have taken down their roof of their house, and built the same height of Mrs. Rose's house, the same Owner Preeson was forced to do at his own house; and as I am informed, he was their only counseller to hinder them from building higher. This house, make the rent thirty shillings a year, and fifty pounds fine; hens, three at Christmas. Lives: himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Amy, daughter of Robert Mercer. Present rent, 4s.

ROSE, MRS.,

Now married to one Diggles, a glazier. Both he and she have been extreme unthankful to me, and abused me much behind my back; therefore never let him glaze for you; and if ever he hath occasion to use you, deal with him accordingly. His bad report hath hindered me of two or three houses. This fellow he was a stranger, and by my countenance I got him much custom, and she, out of my own good will I paid six pounds for a gable end when she had neither money nor credit to have built it; and ill words is all I get for my pains. But God reward them. Make them pay thirty shillings rent, and thirty pounds fine at least. Hens, two.

MONELEY, JOHN,

Owner; an honest man and a better woman. He

gave me seventy pounds odd money for building this house, and thereupon I undertook it, but lost at least thirty-five pounds by it; so it will be most just for you to demand a greater fine. Let the old rent be forty shillings, and sixty pounds fine at least. Of my knowledge he was offered twelve pounds ten shillings a year, and refused it.

WADE, ROBERT.

This man should have built two dormer windows, as others did; but when he had got me fast, and he was loose, he would build none, but made the house like a barn, much to the disparagement of the street. If he have occasion to use you, deal not with him till he hath made two dormer windows. Let the old rent be thirty shillings, and forty pounds fine, and to make those two dormer windows. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: him the said Robert, Anne his wife, and Rich. Coppull, son of Thomas Coppull of Liverpool. Present rent, 4s.

TURNER, ROBERT,

Mason; a pretty house, and an honest man, but is so drunken that will be undone. Let it be thirty shillings rent, and forty pounds fine, as the other above is. I gave him one gable end, that saved him at least six pounds. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: himself, Susan his wife, and John Tarlton, second son to George Tarlton of Hallwood; and rent, 3s.

NARBURY, THOMAS,

A very honest man, and built a good house, and is so well pleased with his landlord that he intends to lay out two hundred and fifty pounds more under me in building. Make this house forty shillings rent, and eighty pounds fine, so you use him reasonable, for if a stranger had it, it deserves at least forty pounds more in the fine.

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What he now pays is only two rent hens. Lives: himself, Anne his wife, and Mary, daughter of John Heyes, of Ormskirk. Rent, 10s.

ALLEN, PETER,

A blacksmith, a very honest man; hath built a pretty house. Remember, here is a good place at the end to build a good house or two; vide Widow Bridge's and Giles Mercer's, concerning it and the vacant place next Rob. Johnson's; for, but that I forgot, these directions of Peter Allen should have stood next to Robert Johnson's, because the two join together. This house deserves thirty pounds fine, and thirty shillings rent. What he now pays is only three rent hens at Easter. Lives: himself, Ellen his wife, and Elizabeth their daughter. Old rent, 4s.

BUSHELL, RICHARD.

Both he and she very honest people; use them well. Make the old rent forty shillings a year; and whereas it deserves a hundred pounds fine, bate them fifty pounds for their honesty to their landlord. Remember, there is an excellent place to the westward of this house, in the street, wherein you must not fail to have another house built, which will deserve one pound a year rent, and be a great ornament to the street. What he now pays is one rent hen at Christmas. Lives: himself, Jane his wife, and Thomas their eldest son. Remember, this house is worth at least fifteen pounds a year. Old rent, 2s.

Read Mr. William Bushell's for his house in Castle street, and there you will see how this ground came to be leased so cheap.

WOODSIDE, ROBERT,

A good honest man, of a Scot, but his wife is as un-

grateful a beast as is in England, never having a good word either for me or my wife; and notwithstanding this, I freely gave her a life for nothing, what at three years' value came to sixty pounds, notwithstanding she will speak as ill of me as if I were never so bad. Considering all this, you may well have ten pounds a year rent, and a hundred pounds fine, that is half rack, and ten years' value for the other ten pounds. What they pay now is but one rent hen. Lives: him the said Robert, Alice, his wife, and Christopher his eldest son. Vide Mr. Will. Bushell's house in Castle street, why they are so cheap rented, and why they have such leases. Rent at present, 2s.

Remember, at the west end might be made a most rare custom house. Read the following directions of that vacant place: vide ut sequitur.

THE VACANT PLACE AT MORE STREET END, *next the river side.*

Here, for two hundred pounds, you may wall in a place from the sea, and build a custom house there. It would draw all the custom of the town into this street, and make your houses that are now but at ten pounds a year would rise to twenty pounds per annum. To effect this, agree with some of the customers, and give them a lease and twenty-one years after, and let them do it upon the king's account, because there is no king's custom house in this town. And whosoever is collector, may live in it, either at a great or small rent, during the lease from you. When the wall is made, my tenants, who are now leading all their rubbish to the water side, will fill the wall with earth for nothing, which otherwise to get earth to fill it would cost a hundred and fifty pounds. Remember, whenever this is done, you must make a passage for horsemen and carts next the street end; for if you put the way beyond the wall towards the sea, at three quarter flood nobody can pass that way, and that will not be suffered. If ever you be great at court, it may, with the help of the farmers of the customs, be easily procured, when the king by them is given to understand the great want of a custom house in such an eminent port as Liverpool. Query how far your land goes sea-

Memorandum concerning it.

ward — be careful of that; yet I think nobody will question that; for it is usual to get of the sea, over against a man's own land, what he can. But query the law in that case. It is but a river, and not the sea, and so will not come within the king's prerogative, nor the admiral's. It is the river of Mersey ten miles farther to the red stones, as may appear by records in the town, and Liverpool charter, in both of which it is termed the river of Mersey ten miles farther towards the sea, to a place called the Red Stones, which said stones are the bounds betwixt the two rivers of Mersey and Dee, that goes to Chester. Besides, I have seen a deed out of the records in the Tower, dated in Edward the Third's time, concerning the manor of Great Crosby. And there it said, Great Crosby lying upon the river of Mersey; so that the river goes beyond Great Crosby, which is several miles seaward of Liverpool. I only give you a hint how this is but a river, whereby a private interest may be greater as to the gaining of the river than otherwise. Remember that for all the soil over against my sea bank, from Mrs. Horton's house to the town field, I have in my grant under the broad seal of England, from high water mark to low water mark, so that it is as absolutely your own as any land you have: vide my directions of the sea bank in Chapel street. Have in mind I have already been twice at the charge of cutting into the rock some yards, to make it a passage, to my cost at least twenty pounds, besides my tenants' carts for ten weeks together, two and three carts a day; and it will yet be a great charge to make it fit to pave, for I must cause it fallen near three quarters of a yard, the whole length and breadth of the street, and the greatest part of all that will be in the growing rock. Have in mind, then, my tenants are all engaged to pave it at their own cost and charge, and so to keep it, with the chains locked every night and day, or so often as they please. I have been at the charges of the post and chains; nay, I bought the locks and keys, which are the best of that kind that ever came into Liverpool. Vide more of this in my directions at large of all things concerning this street, in the imprimis of More street.

Post and chains. Remember to set post and chains at this end, as it is at the other end of this street, next the castle, to keep your privilege. Vide the beginning of More street, more concerning this.

The street itself.

Paving the street.

FENWICK STREET.

IMPRIMIS: Have in mind for ever, that the ground whereon these houses, back sides, and the street itself stands, is solely and wholly upon my own land, and hath so been mine and my ancestors' many hundred years. Have in mind that the passage which I now call Fenwick street is every inch, from the post and chains at the More street end to the post and chains at this street end, that goes into the Water street, solely and wholly my land, and none of the king's high way. But only this year I caused the hedges and walls that formerly fenced it to be pulled down, and to be laid open for the benefit of me and my tenants, and our assigns, but for no others; and as to all other people, it is only a passage of sufferance, and to that intent to let all nations know that it doth not lie common; for although I caused the hedges and walls to be laid down, yet I caused set and erected the great posts, which are all girted and ribbed with iron, together with those great chains thereunto fixed, to be placed at each end of this street, and locks and keys for them, whereby I usually now keep the said passage or street locked up, and none pass there without leave or licence, except my tenants and their assigns. Have in mind that upon all holidays and Sundays, and rain weather, I usually keep them locked, and indeed what other times we please, as usually most people doth their house doors, opens and shuts them when they please. In doing thus you keep your interest of the soil to you and your heirs for ever; so that a hundred years hence doth debar you of no more privilege than one day, but that you may make up the way when you please. God willing, I intend to entail this passage by particular name, and to get all things so plainly inserted in the town's records, there may never be difference between me and the town concerning it, but they may still look upon it as if it were still my inclosed land. Look into my imprimis, the directions of More street, and there you will find at large every thing; and the same I advise you to do with that street, the same I advise you to do with this, in everything in particular according to my directions

there. The reasons why I named this street Fenwick street* was four, the first of which is, that your mother was one of the coheirs of Sir William Fenwick, knight and baronet, of Meldon Hall, in Northumberland, by whom I came actually possessed of seven hundred pounds per annum, land of inheritance, for my third part, as I refer you to an exact particular of her estate in this book elsewhere; the second reason, for that by her fortune I disengaged ten thousand pounds principal money of a debt, contracted by my unfortunate father in the service of the parliament, in these late unhappy wars. How he came indebted, and what offices he bore, with all other things concerning him, I refer you to another place in this book. The third reason is, for that after all the debts abovesaid was discharged, yet at the restoration of King Charles the Second, my whole estate, that descended as heirs, was by act of parliament confiscated for my father's fault, who was dead near fifteen years before the said act of parliament made. Yet take notice, in the said act of parliament there was no attainder of blood; only a confiscation. And notwithstanding all this, upon the petition of my wife to the Lords' House,

* The streets and squares of Liverpool were formerly a kind of index to its history, but now they are too much intermixed with names without association. Thus Castle street, Tower garden, Old Hall, Cross Hall and Moore fields, kept alive old recollections. Hockenhall alley preserved the name of a mayor soon after the Reformation, and of an ancient Cheshire house territorially connected with the town, and intermarried with the Moores. Several ancient Lancashire and Cheshire families had small properties in the two thousand acres of land, of which Liverpool consisted; besides the Moores, Crosses, Molyneuxes, and Stanleys, there were the Mainwarings of Croxton, the Hockenhalls of Tranmere, the Chorleys of Chorley, the Fazakerleys of Fazakerley, the Leghs of Lime, the Maghulls of Maghull, the Harringtons of Harrington, and junior branches of the Moores. Some of these as Fazakerley, Chorley, and Harrington, had streets called after them, and which marked their property. The following names belong to the period from 1660 to 1680, although some were not adopted until nearly three quarters of a century later. James, Fenwick, Preeson, Rainford, Williamson, Lord (then Lord Molyneux street,) Pemberton, Bixteth, Tarlton, Litherland, Rigby, Rimmer. From 1680 to 1710 we find, Derby, Stanley, Atherton, Norris, Sir Thomas, Johnson, Hall, Earle, Gildart, Richmond, Houghton, Tyrer, Benn, Squire, Case, Basnett, Sweeting, Clayton, Cleveland, Cunliffe; Queen, and Union streets, marked the reign of Anne, whilst Hanover, Duke, Cumberland, and Fontenoy, announced the Hanoverian line. In 1700 the population of Liverpool was estimated at 5,714. (BAINES.)

the said house order four earls to go with it to the king, to acquaint his Majesty that the sense of that house was, the petitioner was a fit object of mercy, in regard her father was an excepted person from pardon by the late usurpers, and had lost for his loyalty to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, a third of which should have been the petitioner's; besides, she herself endured much hardships, by imprisonment and other things, for her loyalty. So the king, referring the petition to his attorney-general to know the truth, finding all things accordingly, was graciously pleased, in consideration of her father's merits and her own sufferings, to grant John Moore's whole estate to such feoffees in trust as she, Dorothy Moore, daughter and coheir of Sir William Fenwick, should name; and accordingly a patent was drawn and passed under the broad seal of England. But take notice, before the patent, there was an inquisition in the behalf of the king, taken and filed in the exchequer. Thus, under God, you see, she, and her fortune, saved your estate in Lancashire twice. The Lord God grant there may never want one of my name and blood, from her very loins, and in this very poor Bank Hall, to return him thanks in a most particular manner for these two great mercies, and indeed rather miracles. Had you but lived in our days, at that very time, to have seen, at the turning of the tide, what a stream we were to go up, that indeed nothing but God's immediate hand could have procured it finished! See more of this in another place of this book, wherein I have inserted the whole proceedings at large; and likewise see the original patent under the broad seal from the king. The fourth reason why I named this street so is, that to add to all these mercies, which God was pleased to make her an instrument in, to sweeten them the more to us, he hath been pleased to bless me with four sons and two daughters out of her loins, and is at this time great again with a live child. I hope to sing praises to his name as long as the Son of man endures, because his mercies are great and endures for ever. Amen, amen, amen, Lord Jesu, amen. These reasons considered, I hope, whoever thou art that reads the same, thou wilt not condemn my gratitude, thereby to put my posterity in mind of the praises and thanks they owe to God Almighty,

for his providence in the predestinating such an instrument to match into that family which he, by his divine wisdom, foresaw had such inevitable necessity thereof.

> He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy; for it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that shows mercy. — Rom. ix. 16.
>
> Yet the impulsive cause was, nothing out of himself, but in himself, his own good pleasure. — Rom. ix. 18.

Have in mind I was at the sole charges of freeing and carrying all the rubbish and earth out of this street; that I had two and three carts a day, and four fillers, lusty men, a day, for seventeen days together, in carrying and sinking the street from Robert Lion's house to Widow Creton's door; for I have taken it near three quarters of a yard deep, or more, all the way, to make the water, God willing, fall that way into the Water street; and if God permit, after Christmas I am to the same fillers, to fall the rest of the street to the bridge, and then from the bridge to the post and chains. This will cost a great deal of money. And after all this, then my tenants will by contract be at charges of paving, except in such vacant places where I have not yet set the houses, and there I must be at charges myself of paving. And then, when all is paved, my tenants must continually, before each of their houses, keep it at their own cost and charges so paved, the town having nothing to do with it.

The Vacant Place at Mrs. Owen's House end.

Remember that I intend to build a shop here, of some ten feet broad, and the length of Mrs. Owen's gable end broad; for take notice, although Mr. Knott, her new tenant there, hath lately caused a window to be made in that gable end, yet by her lease I have liberty to build to Mrs. Owen's house end there. Be careful, when you build it, you leave three feet, or a convenient passage, between the shop wall and the post at the street end, that when the chains are locked, a man

or a horse may go thereaway. If ever Mrs. Owen's house come out of lease, fail not to cause a handsome house built to the end of Robert Prenton's gable end, and so let the house be built in Mrs. Owen's back side, fronting the Fenwick street, as the wall of her back side now goes. And if the breadth of her back side will not make you, with the overplus of what is left when the house is built, a convenient room for a back side, then may you add a piece of Margaret Downes's, next to it, for to enlarge it. If you do this, it will be a very great ornament to the street. Remember one advantage, that whoever builds this house must lay into Robert Prenton's house end, and pay nothing; for in consideration that I gave Robert Worrell and Robert Prenton eight pounds towards building their houses, (for they join together,) both of those two Roberts above said were to let whomever I ordered to lay in at either of their gable ends for nothing. Get what rent and hens you can, yet not under a shilling a yard to the front.

The vacant place from the post to the bridge on the west side of this street.

Remember that from the post and chains at the south end of Fenwick street, to the bridge that goes over the spinning place, all along the wall belonging to Mr. Will. Bushell's new house, which now Captain Nixon is tenant to, is a large vacant spot of ground which at present no use is made of, only a way of sufferance I permit Mr. Will. Bushell to have into his spinning place; for you must take notice he hath no way here, this piece of ground being in lease to Thomas Wainwright for a back side to his house, which was to have been built in the very place which now I call part of Fenwick street, where the post there stands, between Mrs. Owen's house end and Mr. Will. Bushell's new house end, which now Captain Nixon and Mrs. Cooke lives in. But when it pleased God to put it into my mind of building another street or passage, if it were possible, for the convenience of my tenants to go into the Water street, I came to the abovesaid Thomas Wainwright, and desired him to remove his place of building from that parcel of ground some three or four houses down lower into the More street, which he denied for a time,

making his advantage (as he thought) of my necessity, and would not stir unless I built him two gable ends for nothing, which would cost me at least twelve pounds sterling; and, to make it short, I was forced to do it, by which means I had liberty to lay this place open for a street; since which time Mr. William Bushell never had any lease altered by me, so then no man can think he can have liberty this way by virtue of his old leases. For you may see his way into the spinning place, by virtue of his lease, is to be through an intended cross lane for to be left at the east of Mr. Bushell's ground, measuring thirty-five yards and four inches from the wall at the water side up eastward, lying between Mr. Gallaw's house and his, part of which lane doth go so far as at this time to carry Mr. Gallaw into his own back side, and the remaining part of the lane the said Mr. Bushell hath inclosed to his back side, which, whenever you please, may in despite of his lease be pulled down again, and made a lane of according to agreement and intention. See more of this in Mr. Bushell's house in Castle street, and Mr. Gallaw's house in More street.

How to build in this vacant place.

When you build, remember the wall which is outermost next this street, I was at charge of, and you may raise your house wall up in it, and so build it so far into the street as only to leave a passage of eighteen or nineteen feet; there would be a row of brave shops. Remember, if ever this be done, you fail not to leave a way underneath these buildings for a cart to go under to the cellar door in Fenwick Hall; and if ever you should make a street in the spinning place, this way would be of great advantage. See more of this in the direction of the spinning place, and the next directions to it, which is Bushell's great house there; vide the cross lane.

THE BRIDGE.

I built it all of my own proper cost and charges. The reasons why I was compelled to build such a bridge, where never water runs under, if you would know, read Bushell, William, the directions for his house in the Castle street. I have a note under the mason's hand that built it, for to uphold it seven years, and ever

after you and your heirs must do it at your own proper cost and charge. But remember, I would have you put a covenant into all your tenants' leases, in that town, to pay proportionable for the continual repair of that bridge, so that will not cost them a penny a year in may be twenty years. Remember Mr. Will. Bushell hath a great desire to build of either side this bridge a handsome house over the spinning place, and to go into them from off either side the bridge, in regard it lies in my power to let him lay into Rob. Worrell's gable end and into Fenwick Hall gable end for nothing. But this remember, that you never let him build there, so as either to take the battlement of the bridge for a passage into his houses, or to let him join into either of the aforesaid gable ends, unless he will build there handsome houses, and that of a good height, to the ornament of the street. Remember, there is underneath in the arch an inscription engraven, how and when I built this bridge. Remember this, that what occasion soever Mr. Bushell hath to use you, before you grant it, that in the lease he hath for the spinning place you get inserted that I and my assigns may have liberty to come to Fenwick Hall cellar door, or what other cellars or back building I make in the wall adjoining there to the spinning place, provided we shall not wrong or hinder his spinning.

WORRELL, ROBERT.

A pretty house, four stories high; an honest man. Make this house forty shillings rent, and fifty pounds fine; that which he now pays is two hens at Christmas. Lives, only himself and twenty-one years; for in regard he and his partner, Robert Prenton, were two young men unmarried, having neither wives nor children, they would not put strangers' lives in, but rather chose to have only their own lives and twenty-one after, in hopes that if they do marry, you will, instead of the years, put in their wife and one child's life. Rent at present, 4s.

PRENTON, ROBERT.

The like house to Robert Worrell's; forty shillings rent, and fifty pounds fine; that which he now pays is two hens at Christmas. Lives, only himself and twenty-one years. The old rent, 4s.

THE VACANT PLACE ON THE NORTH SIDE THE BRIDGE.

This parcel of ground Mr. William Bushell hath in lease to the house in Castle street; this part, which lies next to Fenwick street, is an excellent place to build on, for there I have an agreement with him who builds at Rog. James's house end, and an agreement with Rob. Worrell, that whoever I please shall lay in at either of their gable ends, and to do so for nothing; so that if Mr. Bushell build here, he may have two gable ends built to his hands for nothing. Remember, here will be a good back side, and room enough to lay to each of my little houses in Bridge's alley a little backside; or if ever you built to the spinning place, there might be a row of little houses built with the fronts into the spinning place, and each of them to have a little back side out of this parcel of ground. Remember, if ever you do thus, that you reserve no more to Bushell's house in the Castle street, for a back side, than to the wall which now parts that back side from this parcel of ground. If Mr. Bushell shall build here, let him promise to build it like the rest of the houses. Vide more concerning this particular in the directions concerning Mr. Bushell's house in Castle street, how he cannot build here if he do not build a handsome house, like the rest of the street, so as to have a way into this street without your leave, nor to join into those two gable ends without your leave; therefore either make him build a good house or none. I have no rent for this parcel of ground; it is in Mr. Bushell's lease for the Castle street house. Here may well three hundred pounds be laid out on a house.

BOULTON, ——

Miller; is to join next to Rog. James's house end. He is to permit, at the north end of his house, a passage of four feet and four inches, into Bridge's alley, and to have for his back side ——— yards backward the whole length of his house, excepting the length of his back side, all along towards the alley, four feet and four inches for the alley. Remember he is to permit me let Mr. Bushell, if I please, to join into his gable end for nothing. He is to build the same height with Roger James's house. When this house comes out of lease, make it thirty shillings rent, and thirty pounds fine. What he now pays is —— hens at ——. Lives, —— and old rent, ——.

JAMES, ROGER,

A very honest man, and a good woman to his wife. A good house and a brave back side. Make this house fifty shillings rent and eighty pounds fine. Remember, when this comes out of lease, you might cause all along in Bridge's alley, little houses of the same bigness built, and let every one of them have two yards for a back side; and when this is done, there will be back side sufficient for this house. He now pays three rent hens, but I have promised that during his wife's life he shall pay but one. The lives in this house are his own, Ellinor his wife, and John his eldest son. Remember I built the wall, of my cost, which is next to Bridge's alley, in which wall build the little houses. Rent, 10s.

FENWICK HALL.

[Blank.]

THE VACANCIES BETWIXT FENWICK HALL AND EDW. LITHERLAND'S.

[Blank.]

LITHERLAND, EDWARD,

An honest man. A great house, and good back side. Make this house forty shillings rent, and seventy pounds fine. What he now pays is two rent hens. Lives: his own, Anne his wife, and John his son. Rent at present, 12s.

SUTTON, GILBERT,

An honest man. I found him one gable end. Make this house thirty shillings, and thirty pounds fine. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. I did let him have a passage into his back side; vide his lease concerning. Lives: of him the said Gilbert, Cicely his wife, and Margaret, the daughter of Richard Wright of Formby, husbandman. Old rent, now 6s.

BUSHELL, ROBERT,

A slater. He bought the tenancies of this house from Robert Turner. Remember he is to build two bays more in the back side. Make this house one pound rent and thirty pounds fine. He pays now two rent hens. Lives: himself, ———. Remember I built both these gable ends; so you may justly ask twelve pounds more for it, for they only now pay rent, 5s.

Mem. these three vacant places are at the end of this house, north, towards John Rimmer's.

RIMMER, JOHN.

A good house. Let the rent be fifty shillings a year, and eighty pounds fine at least. Remember that at the south end of this house is a fair place to build a handsome house in, and then lay a back side to this house out of John Holt's back side; let the breadth of the back side be the exact length of this house and kitchen, but not an inch more; then may you build another house at

Two vacant places here to build.

the north end of this John Rimmer's kitchen, to where Robert Lion's stable is, and let the back side thereof be taken out of John Holt's back side; and notwithstanding all this, there will be a good back side to John Holt's, besides. For this, at present, he only pays two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: himself, Joan his wife, and John Rimmer his second son. Rent, 4s.

LION, ROBERT,

A very honest man. This is divided into two houses; the one Margaret Granger lives in, which I would have you reserve thirty shillings old rent, and sixty pounds fine; and the other side Owner Worrell lives in, with the kitchen and stable, is worth one pound a year rent, and fifty pounds fine; pays at present two rent hens. Lives: him the said Robert Lion, Peter Lorting, son of Peter Lorting, alderman, and of James Ashley, son of Thomas Ashley of Parre. Rent, 8s.

Granger's, Widow, house.

Remember you may have of Margaret Granger a year's value for admittance to become tenant, and a year's value for change of every life. Query what all's worth a year, and then whatever you bate of four years' value, you might as well give it out of your purse. Most landlords in Lancashire take a great deal more. For other things concerning this house in a more particular manner, you may have at large in Robert Lion's house in the Water street. 8s.

Worrell, Owner.

Each a house.

MRS. OWEN'S VACANT PLACE.

From Robert Lion's well, I would have you pull down that little kitchen which is Margaret Granger's, and there build handsome houses all along from the very well, in Mrs. Owen's back side and garden wall. Let Mrs. Owen's old thatched barn be pulled down; then to each house, give them for back side the breadth so far as Mrs. Owen's liberty on the other side goes. Here will be at least four houses, and will fill up that blank place, and will be a very extraordinary ornament to the street. Get what rent and hens you

Four houses here at least.

can; two shillings a yard will then be full little enough, because by this time these streets will be all inhabited, and then this will be the very heart of the town.

OWEN, MRS., VACANT PLACE IN HER GARDEN WALL.

This place joins next to Widow Gretton's north gable end; and have in mind I always intended to build here, insomuch as by covenant in Gretton's lease, he is to permit whom I please to join to him for nothing; and likewise the house that joins to him is to have for a back side so far in length as Widow Gretton's back side goes, drawing a line directly from Widow Gretton's corner of her house directly eastward to Edward Jones's back side wall, and then in breadth as the wall of that back side goes, from Jones's to Baly Johnson's, and then to the earl of Derby's land, now in Mr. Baly Livesey's hand; for that wall, which is the partition between the earl's land, is my wall and fence to make. Have in mind that parcel of ground is excepted in Widow Gretton's lease for me to give to whomsoever builds there. I offered to Mrs. Owen, for nothing but for as much of her garden that lies next to Widow Gretton's as William Nicholls the cooper would build on, being not above twelve yards of ground, ten pounds sterling, although it was my own land, and she denied me, which was six times the purchase, and lost me a good tenant; then had I intended to lay this parcel of ground to it for a back side. Fail not, whenever Mrs. Owen hath any occasion to use you, you get this before you grant her request, and let her know how hard she was with me. What must you expect from such tenants? This is a most excellent place to build in. Have at least three rent hens and £1.

Remember, this long wall I built at my charge; at least four pounds it cost. Vide more about this in Mrs. Owen's in the Water street at large, and observe it well.

GRETTON, WIDOW.

Since this house was built, her husband died, whose life was in the house, and I freely gave her one of her children's lives in for nothing; she was a poor widow. Have in mind there is a parcel of ground which at present is common to her back side, where the nine pins stand, that's particularly excepted out of her lease; for, God willing, I intend to have a house built to join in with her north gable end, which house must stand in Mrs. Owen's garden, have for its back side this spot of ground, backwards to Edw. James's garden wall, and in breadth drawing a line from Widow Gretton's north gable end, so just by her well directly down to Edward Jones's wall, so as the fence I now make go; for I make the fence clear round to Mrs. Owen's garden wall again. Read more of this in the last direction for the vacant place in Mrs. Owen's garden, just on the other side of this leaf, and likewise in the direction of Mrs. Owen's house in the Dale street. Remember you have liberty to join to either end of this house for nothing, in regard I gave them a life for nothing. You may ask reason for a rent and fine, yet be moderate, because she is a poor widow. Make the house fifty shillings yearly rent and sixty pounds fine; this is very cheap. I have a covenant on the back side the lease, she shall not wrong her son if she marry again. Two rent hens. Lives: her own, John Gretton, and Thomas Gretton, her sons; and old rent, 10s.

A jury to view James Glover's wrong at the house end.

THE VACANT PLACE AT GRETTON'S SOUTH END.

This vacant place is but very narrow, in regard of Mr. Crosse's land in James Glover's tenement. If it had not been for this piece of land, I had made Fenwick street as straight as any street in town. But this being none of my land, I was forced to wind the street in that place; for before I did it, I sent to Mr. Crosse's agents, and would have given fifty pounds for bare six yards of ground, which was a hundred times the purchase; and they said

they would sell none. Then I offered them, that if they pleased but to lay three yards of the out angle to the street, they should have liberty to have made an alley directly down the said James Glover's back side, from the Castle street into Fenwick street; this would have made Mr. Crosse to have had a whole alley, all upon his own land. All this I would have done to have made the street but straight; yet they were so unreasonable, through some evil counsel against me in the town, who thought my design could never have taken effect without that piece of ground, that their positive answer was, they would spend a thousand pounds before young Mr. Crosse should be wronged, or before I should have a foot there. Thus you may see it's good to make much of your own, and to serve God and be a good husband; for had this piece of ground gone but five yards farther, it would have hindered you to the value of at least five thousand pounds; for then you had neither had this street nor the two alleys, and then More street had been but a back lane, which now, by reason of these passages, is made as convenient as most parts of the town. I do not write this that for the future you may bear ill will to Mr. Crosse,* but that you may know the reason why the street is so winding, and that you may be more careful of your own land, and esteem a little; for you see how precious a little land is in a right place, and that it's easier for a man to make away a thousand acres than to purchase one, unless he be a good husband; for I charge you let this danger I escaped, in having five yards of ground to spare at Mr. Crosse's land end, put you in mind of the old saying:

The Shop in Fenwick Street at James Glover's garden end; vide the directions on the west end of Phœnix Alley, concerning James Glover's at large.

* The family of Crosse, of which there is a pedigree in Burke's *Commoners*, settled on the north eastern corner of Liverpool about 1350, being one hundred and fifty years after the Moores' appearance in the same township. The Crosses, for they still exist, have property in Wigan, and supplied mayors to both towns. Of their intermarriages, and estates near Liverpool, the same history, mutatis mutandis, might be given as of those of the Moores. Richard Crosse, who died in 1658, acted no prominent part in the wars. The "cousin Crosse" alluded to by Moore, was John, baptized 29th December, 1648, and therefore almost of age when the Rental was written. The relationship was a remote one, Crosse's great great grandfather having married Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore, of Bank Hall, about a century before. The Crosse estate was not then (1688) much built upon, and the improvements of 1671 were probably an attempt to make it more marketable.

Much for your advantage.

He hath and thou hath, but well's them that self hath. Young Mr. Crosse was a child, and so could not be accessory in the least to this; for had any man living been but self concerned, their own interest would have thanked me two times, and would have given me a hundred pounds instead of my giving him. But now remember, since it is as it is, that God Almighty hath blessed you with a street all of your own land, let there never be a way there, but build me a small single Perpoint ashlar wall, and let come by a line from Widow Gretton's corner of her house, the angle of the wall on the other side Mr. Crosse's land; for that angle and wall is mine, and so you may build in that wall. Here I would build a shop, and one room over it, and let it join from Gretton's house to them that builds next on the south end.

HUNTER, JONATHAN.

If he build in this place, between James Glover's and Fenwick alley, which alley is to go out of Fenwick street into the middle of the Castle street, it is to be four yards broad. This is a most convenient place for a house. I am to build Jonathan two gable ends. He sold his house in the Water street, and now builds this. Look at his character in the Water street, and you may have more reason to use him well for building two houses upon your land. He pays now three rent hens at Easter. Lives: himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Joseph his eldest son. Rent, sixpence a yard; query.

FENWICK ALLEY.*

HARRISON, WIDOW

Of William Harrison, glazier. This Widow Harrison was daughter to one Robert Clarke, who was an old servant of my father's; and when he lay in dying, being desirous to speak with me,

* The map of 1768 retains the name of Fenwick alley, which seems identical with the upper end of Brunswick street, from Fenwick to Castle street.

he told me he had been a faithful servant to the family, and now when he died, the house fell out of lease, so that his children were in my mercy, and desired me to be good to them; in memory of which I made a lease to her, during two lives, for only five pounds fine and the payment of nine pounds which was in arrear of old rent. I gave her seven years time to pay it in besides. At this very time I was offered by a Baly Speare in the town a hundred pounds fine in ready money for the premises leased to her, at this time are set for twelve pounds ten shillings yearly. Remember that there is belongs to this messuage a little spot of a garden lying west of an old kiln, and there is likewise this old kiln, together with several little houses worth nothing, lying all along fronting for forty or fifty yards to this alley; upon which ground I would first have you pull down all those little thatched houses, and in their place erect fine neat houses like the houses in Bridge alley, or, if you can, let them be better. Remember, notwithstanding all my civility of giving this house to her for no fine to speak of, yet when I came to desire but a small part of her back side to make Fenwick street withal, she forced me to allow her at least forty pounds for not so much ground as she did ever set for ten shillings a year, when she had twelve pounds ten shillings a year from me for five pounds fine, for the nine pounds in arrear I could have made the goods in the house to have paid me, so then I had but five pounds fine; notwithstanding this civility, when I had occasion to use her, she was worse than a Turk, for I must either give her two children's lives in, or I should not have a foot there, upon which I was forced to grant it, which was better to them than fifty pounds. Thus you may see what you must expect from a tenant, as use them never so well. Therefore, serve God and make much of your own; and as these new leases fall out, raise your old rents according to my directions, that you may have something to live on like other neighbour gentlemen. This house, bate not a farthing of a hundred pounds fine, and take these little houses away besides; the rent is sufficient already, you need not raise it. Two hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. Lives, ——. Rent, £2.

All or most of the north side of Phœnix Alley.

Fenwick Alley, north side.

Vide Harrison, Widow, her house in the Castle street.

From the west end of Harrison, widow, to Fenwick Street, all along the north side of this alley.

Remember if, when my cousin Crosse comes of age, you could buy James Glover's house and back side, you might gallantly build all along this side of the alley, and lay James Glover's garden for back sides to the same; or else you may build pretty little houses as big or bigger than the houses in Bridge's alley, and there will be pretty little back sides to each. And so, if you should buy James Glover's, you might pull down the shop I intend to build at the end thereof, which goes towards Fenwick street, and so you might make a pretty alley all along the said Glover's garden and back sides into the Castle street, and make back sides to the houses on the north side of the said alley out of Widow Gretton's back side or William Mosse's; or if you build large houses, then lay the back sides so far as Edward Jones's back side. Consider this well, for here you may have several good houses, more especially if you buy James Glover's.

RIDING, WILLIAM.

This fellow, for his character, vide him in the Castle street; only remember it is but an ordinary house, and you may, if you please, cause a house to be erected in his back side, the same height and breadth of Andell's, fronting to this alley; only remember you be careful not to stop the lights to the horse mill. Rent, ——.

ANDELL, ——.

This fellow gave me but nine pounds for this whole house, when it cost me forty pounds. Therefore, whenever it comes out, you may use your pleasure for to have the most you can for it. Make the rent one pound per annum, and fine forty pounds. Remember he doth not with his back buildings stop any of the lights belonging to the horse mill. In this lease there is a proviso concerning it. Hens, ——.

This house I built myself.

HOLLIS, THOMAS.

[Blank.]

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, SLATER.

[Blank.]

JAMES, ROGER.

He hath a long blind wall, in which, if you see convenient, you may cause a very good house or two built the front to this alley, and the back side is so broad that there will be room sufficient for back sides to them. And let the back side for his house in Fenwick street go only so far as to the end of his stable, and so make a door out of his stable into this alley; and then you may build so far westward from William Bushell's, the slater, as to the west side of the great gates which now leads into Roger James's back side. See more in Roger James's house in Fenwick street.

MEMORANDUMS CONCERNING FENWICK ALLEY.

Remember that all this ground, being four yards or thereabouts broad from Fenwick street to the draw well, which I have left for this passage, and so from thence to the posts and chains at the east end of this alley, which I now call Fenwick alley, is every foot and inch my own land, and none of the king's high-way; for it being entailed land to me and my heirs for ever, and only a passage intended for me and my tenants, and to debar all other people from going through that way, except it be by permission and sufferance first had and obtained from me, the said Edward Moore, or some of my tenants; and to that end, to keep my interest, I caused the posts and chains set, which are sometimes for a week together kept locked, and opened by none but the tenants there, or such as they give leave to. The same is this passage as that of the More street; therefore vide More street

directions. Remember that it is at my sole charge to carry the earth all away, so as it may be made fit to pave; and then it is to be paved and so continue in repair at the proper cost and charges of me, the said Edward Moore, and my tenants, for ever. God grant there may never be one of my name and blood wanting to give God thanks for this his mercy. Amen, amen, amen.

THE DRAW WELL HERE.

Remember this well was called formerly Rob. Clarke's well, and was an ancient well belonging to Clarke's tenement. But upon my laying this place open, it fell out so that the passage or alley chanced to be most convenient near the said well, whereupon I have made it a common well to certain of the new tenants, which was a great encouragement to them, nothing being more necessary than good water for the daily use of a house; and they, and none but such as they permit, are to have a key to the door which enters into the well. And at such tenants' cost and charges the well, with all necessaries whatsoever, is to be kept in good order and repair. Here is a good wall and a door built round this well, to keep it several from the street. Have in mind the same was built solely at the proper charges of me, Edward Moore, and not so much as any one of my tenants did contribute one penny towards it in the least.

BRIDGE'S ALLEY.

This passage, or alley, is every inch, together with all the houses there, my land of inheritance, and not the king's high-way, but only peculiar to me, Edward Moore, my tenants, and their assigns; and for that end I caused the post and chains, at the east end thereof, to be set at my sole proper cost and charges, and the doors at either end to be made for to be kept locked when the tenants or myself or heirs please. Remember, the same I say for this passage as I do for More street, (vide the same,) and all at my costs. I

am to free the street, and carry away the earth, and then my tenants are to pave it and keep it so, according to my covenants in their leases. Remember the reason why I named it Bridge's alley was because it lay betwixt two bridges, the one at the west end, where never water runs under, made for to spin under, (vide Will. Bushell, Castle street,) the other at the east end is Thomas Bridge, my tenant, a drunken fellow; upon which these verses were made as follows: —

In old, bridges for water were,
But these are made for other fare;
The one for spinning, and, it's so said,
The other's for the drunken trade.
Let this be set to England's wonder:
Two bridges, and no water under!

Remember, if ever you could get the garden which belongs to Mr. William Bushell's house in the Castle street, you might either build an excellent row of houses fronting to the spinning place, (vide the Spinning Place, and Bridge's, or see Bushell, William, vacant place, all these I would have you see in the directions of Fenwick street,) or else lay to each of these little houses every one two or three yards more for a back side, and make a good house at the upper end fronting to the Fenwick street, and keep a reasonable back side for it; this will serve all three places, and back sides to them all.

THOMAS BRIDGE'S DEAD WALL.

Remember, if ever this house of Thomas Bridge's falls out of lease, that here belongs to it a garden, which, by any means, I would have you take from this house, and let such little houses as these in the alley are, be built all along in it, fronting the said alley, and the garden will be broad enough for the houses and to make back sides to them and all; if you continue for the back side to this house so far as the draw well and cross wall that parts the garden from the said back sides, it is sufficient, but query if it be not too much. Vacant place.

JAMES, ROGER.

Remember here is a vacant place all along the wall
Vacant place. which belongs to his back side, wherein would most excellently serve for to build such like houses as this alley, and lay two or three yards of ground to each of them, and, notwithstanding, let there remain a sufficient back side still to Roger James's house; when this falls out of lease, or as opportunity serves, remember this. For rent and hens get what you can.

AN EXACT [ACCOUNT] OF THE SEVERAL PARCELS OF LAND I HAVE IN LIVERPOOL.

Imprimis: —WATER-YARTH, GREAT,

A very good meadow. It is thirty acres of the largest measure, worth yearly thirty pounds per annum at least. Many of the acres are now set for forty shillings the acre; and if you will but dung it, which you may very well do, in regard it lies so near the town, or set it to several tenants in small parcels, from three years to three years at a rack rent, (they will be obliged to dung it,) then it will in twice dunging be worth at least forty pounds per annum.

WATER-YARTH, LITTLE,

Six acres, set to pasture for eight pounds per annum, together with the Hogs heys commons with them.

WOOD.

This close, one part of it lies in Liverpool and the other within the lordship of Kirkdale. Take notice, this close, which is not, in all, with the wood and meadow betwixt the two woods, not above eight acres, is worth to you and yours more than so many acres of wheat yearly; for there was John Sire and Thomas Wharton,

both ancient servants, at least eighty years apiece, could remember that my great grandfather, William Moore, planted this wood, being forced most of his time to keep two strong ox teams, with two men and two boys, for to do no other work but fetch hedging wood from Simmon-wood to fence his demesne. This great trouble lasted most part of the winter season. This being nothing but truth, you have great cause to be careful that none abuse it. Remember you always give a charge to one of your servants to look to it, otherwise the town of Liverpool will absolutely destroy it with stealing pricks or windings out of it. Take notice, there will be many at you to beg a hundred windings which, they pretend, is but a small thing; yet, that hundred of windings, when it is grown up, will be a good part of a load of wood. Therefore make a resolution, for love nor gold will you give any; for if once you admit to one, you will never be quiet till the whole wood be destroyed. Promise to the man that looks to it five or ten shillings for every one he takes stealing; and then, before you forgive them, make them pay it to your servant, or else tell them that you must pay it yourself. Remember, you must never in all your life permit any beast to go a grazing therein, for they will eat all the young springing wood, and so destroy it; then be careful that it be always cut in the right season, whilst the sap is in the root. These rules exactly observed, with God's blessing, will preserve your wood for ever, so that you may for ever cut a hundred load a year, or more, as your occasion requires, and be served for your demesne as well as any man in England is with hedging wood; which, if you destroy the same, gold will scarce buy you wood for your sufficient use, in regard of the great scarcity of wood about you. (I hope fore-warned, fore-armed, if you have either grace or wisdom in you.) There will be in the meadow betwixt the woods some years twelve loads of hay. I cannot set a value upon this same close for the reasons above said.

Potinger Hey,

Worth six pounds per annum to graze: it is near five acres.

NEW HEY

Will score eleven cows at twenty-six shillings a cow-gate, that is fourteen pounds six shillings per annum for the short cow score, that is for twenty weeks; and then you may make a good sum of money for the after score, betwixt that and Candlemas.

Here is a pit in this close most excellent for breeding tenches in. You may never have under a thousand pair of young tenches therein to fray all your other ponds.

HOGS HEY, *alias* TOWN'S, COMMONS.

Some say that I hold them but in lease from the town of Liverpool, for which I pay three shillings and four pence a year during my uncle Robert's life. How it is I know not. I forbear speaking of it, thinking it may not be convenient till, please God, I be mayor, and then I can see into the records in despite of them; for never was a crew of such false-hearted rogues in one town together. I charge you trust none of them, for they would betray Christ if on the earth again. This observe, when they pretend most friendship, then have they most roguery in their hearts: this I only speak, what by experience I have found, of the aldermen now in being. God send us better, for his own honour and the town's good. Amen.

PARLOR HEY,

The best piece of ground within one hundred miles; it is not above three acres, and it will keep now eight beasts at forty shillings a cow-gate; and formerly, before it was delved most part of it over to make up the works when the town was a garrison, it would have kept two beasts more; that was in all ten beasts, for twenty weeks, at forty shillings a cow-gate, or thirty-five shillings at the lowest rate. This field is convenient to build a street or more in. God direct you concerning it. Amen.

KILN HEY,

Worth four pounds per annum; a brave place for building. Vide more concerning it. In this field you have a good kiln standing all in good repair.

BARN HEY,

Set by me fourteen years agone for eight pounds per annum; but I hope now, as the town grows populous, will be much more worth. Here you may make brave buildings: consider of it.

PIT HEY.

This is worth five pounds per annum; and you may have two or three good houses built at the end next the Tithebarn street, and have a brave spinning place as it now is behind it; which very spinning place, if you could oblige any rich man to cover it all over, as Owner Bushell intends his, would be worth at least twenty pounds or more a year.

MILL CROFT

Is a field I keep on purpose for my mill horses, for to pasture them in at noons in the summer time: a rich piece of ground of the bigness.

GORSE ACRE HEY AND LITTLE MEADOW.

Set for four pounds ten shillings per annum.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF MAYORS AND BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL, FROM 1625 TO 1687.

[FROM GORE'S DIRECTORY, 1790.]

	MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1625	Lord Strange	Richard Tarleton, James Southern.
1626	Edward Moore, Esq. . .	Thomas Brookbank, John Astley.
1627	Ralph Seacome	Ralph Sandiford, Robert Lurting.
1628	John Walker	William Ireland, Ralph Worral.
1629	Robert Williamson.....	John Chandler, Thomas Bicksteth.
1630	John Williamson	Thomas Eccleston, John Moore.
1631	Ralph Sandiford.....	John Millinge, Thomas Tarleton.
1632	John Walker	Robert Millinge, John Higginson.
1633	John Moore, Esq.....	Richard Tarleton, Edward Chambers.
1634	Robert Williamson	Thomas Tarleton, Roger Johnes.
1635	Thomas Bickstath	Thomas Blackmore, Edward Alcock.
1636	William Dwerryhouse..	John Williamson, jun., Ralph Massam.
1637	Thomas Eccleston	John Higginson, James Williamson.
1638	John Williamson.....	John Chantler, Richard Johnes.
1639	Thomas Stanley, Esq...	Edward Alcock, Henry Robinson.
1640	William Ireland.... .. .	Edward Chambers, Hugh Gardiner.
1641	John Walker	Thomas Hodgson, John Wood.
1642	Thomas Bixteth.....	Ralph Massam, William Williamson.
1643	James Williamson	Edward Formby, Lawrence Mercer.
1644	John Holcroft, Esq.... .	Thomas Williamson, John Tarleton.
1645	Thomas Blackmore.....	Edward Williamson, Robert Garnett.
1646	Richard Tarleton	Thomas Hodgson, John Sandiford.

1647	Thomas Tarleton	Richard Williamson, John Sturzaker.
1648	William Williamson.....	Edward Lyon, Thomas Storey.
1649	Thomas Hodgson	Gilbert Formby, Evan Marsh.
1650	James Williamson	Thomas Ayndoe, William Lurtin, died, Peter Lurtin succeeded.
1651	Thomas Williamson.....	Richard Percival, John Eccleston.
1652	Ralph Massam	Peter Lurtin, William Rimmer.
1653	Edward Williamson.....	John Blundell, John Lurtin.
1654	Robert Cornall	Henry Corless, Richard Livesey.
1655	Thomas Ayndoe.....	Robert Sutton, Henry Moore.
1656	Gilbert Formby	Thomas Sandiford, William Bushell.
1657	Thomas Blackmore.....	Alexander Green, Thomas Ashbrook.
1658	Richard Percival.....	John Sturzaker, John Owen.
1659	Thomas Williamson.....	Thomas Storey, Edmund Livesey.
1660	Alexander Green	Evan Marsh, John Pemberton.
1661	Henry Corles.....	John Chandler, William Blackmore.
1662	Hon. Thomas Stanley...	William Kitchin, William Gardner.
1663	Peter Lurtin	Thomas Johnson, Thomas Alcock.
1664	John Sturzaker	Thomas Birch, James Holt.
1665	Michael Tarleton	Thomas Preeson, George Bennett.
1666	Charles, Earl of Derby..	Thomas Bixteth, John Bulkeley.
1667	Thos. Visct. Colchester.	Timothy Tarleton, William Fleetwood.
1668	William, Lord Strange..	Thomas Atherton, Richard Bushell.
1669	Thomas Bicksteth	Richard Windle, Robert Fleetwood.
1670	Thomas Johnson	Robert Williamson, Thomas Norbury.
1671	Lawrence Brownlow ...	Henry Higginson, Joseph Prior.
1672	Silvester Richmond	Thomas Chapman, Thomas Galloway.
1673	James Jerrom.....	William Williamson, Peter Atherton.
1674	Sir Gilbert Ireland, died; Tho. Bixteth succeeded.	Robert Seacome, Thomas Clarke.
1675	Thomas Chapman	Richard Williamson, Thomas Brooksbank.
1676	Robert Williamson.... .	William Travers, James Prescott.
1677	William, Earl of Derby.	Joseph Williamson, John Molyneux.
1678	John Chorley, Esq.....	Robert Carter, William Bailey.
1679	William Williamson.....	John Williamson, Henry Smith.
1680	Thomas Clayton, Esq...	Edward Williamson, Thomas Heyes.
1681	Richard Windle	Thomas Tyrer, Joshua Fisher.
1682	Edward Tarleton, Esq...	Thomas Warmingham, W. Precson.

1683	Robert Seacome	Richard Seddon, Richard Diggles.
1684	Sir Rich. Atherton, Knt.	Richard Houghton, Ger. Winstanley.
1685	Oliver Lyme, Esq.....	David Poole, Alexander Norris.
1686	Peter Bold, Esq	Jeremy Hunt, Thomas Alanson.
1687	James Prescott	James Barton, Thomas Sweeting.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR LIVERPOOL.

[From Baines, and the Journals of the Commons.]

1614	William Johnson	Thomas May.
1620	The same	The same.
1623	Sir T. Gerard, Knt.	George Ireland.
1625	James, Lord Strange.....	Edward Moore.
1625	Edward Bridgman.....	Thomas Stanley.
1628	Henry Jermyn	John Newdigate.
1640	James, Lord Cranfield, "waved Bramber, and chooses Liverpool, 23d April, 1640;" the parliament dissolved May 5, so he sat twelve days.	John Holcroft.
1640	Col. John Moore, died June, 1650.	Sir Richard Wynn,* Bart., died 1649, and then, Colonel Thomas Birch elected.
1653	No writ issued for Liverpool.	
1654	Col. Thomas Birch.	
1656	Col. Thomas Birch.	
1658–9	Col. Gilbert Ireland	Alderman Blackmore.
1660	Hon. William Stanley	Sir Gilbert Ireland, Knt.
1661	The same	The same.

* Although in the previous short parliament Wynn appears in the list of members for Newton, the *Journals* state, 16th April, 1640, Sir R. Wynn chooses Andover, and waves Bodmin and Newton.

1670, Mr. Stanley died, and in November, a London alderman, Sir William Bucknall, Knt., was elected. 1675, Sir Gilbert Ireland died, having, Gregson says, impoverished himself by Liverpool elections. A new writ May 6th, and William Banks of Winstanley, Ireland's brother-in-law, returned. The printed pedigree makes Banks's age, at this time, 91; he died the year following. 1676, February 16, two writs issued, Bucknall and Banks both being dead. The return does not appear, but no doubt it was made; and thus, during this repetition of the long parliament, Liverpool had six members (four dying) and three elections in seventeen years.

1678	Sir Ralph Ashton, Bart.....	Richard Atherton.

June 5, Sir Edward Moore petitioned against this return, and the sitting members were,

	Richard Wentworth	John Dubois.
1681	The same	The same.
1685	Richard Atherton	Thomas Leigh.
1688	Lord Colchester	Thomas Norris.
1690	The same	The same.

In 1694 Lord Colchester became Earl Rivers; and on December 4th, Jasper Maudit and Thomas Brotherton offer themselves for Liverpool. The mayor, Alexander Norris, (very distantly, if at all, connected with the Speke family, and of opposite politics, being a supporter of the Stuart charters, and opposed to the intended new charter,) refuses to accept the nomination of Maudit, alleging he was the coroner; and so, polling a few votes for Brotherton, it is said fifteen, declares him elected, but keeps back the return. December 20, the House of Commons enter on the journals that there has been an election for Liverpool, but no return made, and they refer the matter to a committee. The burgesses, and Maudit, both petition, and the latter declares that he has been chosen by a majority of above two hundred, and yet that the mayor refused a poll. January 12, 1694, Maudit is decided to be elected, and Alexander Norris is committed. Nearly six weeks afterwards, (February 20,) the mayor's petition to be discharged is debated, 133 being in his favour, and 110 against him; and the day after he is brought to the bar, and being on his knees, is reprimanded for his "great misdemeanours," and discharged on paying his fees.

NOTE ON THE STANLEY FAMILY.

VIDE PAGE 36.

The fortunes of the Stanley family, at this period, are connected with two passages of importance in general history. Firstly: the adoption of Machiavelli's dishonest principles, by persons otherwise honourable and religious;—the belief that politics was a craft and a mystery inconsistent with truth, and which a public man was nevertheless obliged to practice; delusions general amongst educated men of Charles's age, and which greatly entered into the causes of the downfall of that monarch. Secondly: the proceedings of Clarendon, after the Restoration, towards the royalists. The Chancellor is charged, by common rumour, with building Clarendon House by the sale of Dunkirk; by Evelyn, Pepys, Marvell, and others, with enriching himself by the plunder of the Cavaliers. Lord Dover especially mentions the Stanley family as an object of the Chancellor's rapacity; and the subject has recently been brought before the public in the well known engraving of the great earl, his countess, and the future Lady Athol, which is stated to be from a Vandyke in the possession of the present Earl of Clarendon, although manifestly originally a most valuable family picture from Lathom.

Charles Stanley, the friend of Moore, and the then patron of Liverpool, was the eighth earl of Derby, and son of the great earl and Charlotte de la Tremouille.

The seventh earl was christened February 13, 1605, (Nicoll's *Progresses of James the First*, vol. i. p. 603,) and was about twenty when in the spring of 1626 he married at the Hague. Lady Strange was naturalized by the king's letters, (Rymer, 12th September, 1626,) and not by act of parliament; and yet, under Cromwell, she presented to a church living (Ormskirk, 1656 ——) and after the Restoration claimed the Isle of Man.

In analysing the politics of the Stanley family, which, up to the Revolution, are most important in Lancashire history, the proceedings of the great earl, when Lord Strange, must not be forgotten. He early retired from the court, evidently being on no terms with it; and though we do not connect him with Coriton, Eliot, and the patriots of 1628–9, still his leaning was to their party. Clarendon says that Lord Strange thought himself disobliged

by the court; and at the beginning of the war, the parliament, who gave him the lieutenancy of Cheshire, perhaps showed him more confidence than Charles. Clarendon, who is obliged to speak of Lord Derby's "unquestionable loyalty before he received any obligations from the court," still does it in a damaging manner; for he affirms, and Echard almost copies the words, that this nobleman's haughty carriage to his inferiors was the source of all his misfortunes. We nowhere else find this charge. Lord Derby says, "I was happy in the beginning of the war to have the general applause of my neighbours, as one they would like to follow." Clarendon incidentally proves the statement twice made by Lord Derby, (in his treatise and on the scaffold,) that he joined Charles the Second in 1651; owing to the king's commands, the ex-chancellor says, for this earl "had no confidence in the undertaking." Now there is hardly a cotemporary writer who does not represent Derby as miserably deceiving the king on this occasion. Clarendon, who never can speak with entire praise of the Derby family, but always as if something interfered to prevent him, here makes the pitiful insinuation that the great earl's appearance at Wigan lane, and Worcester, was in consequence of receiving the garter.

As a writer, the seventh earl is remarkable for that curiosa felicitas verborum of which the highly artificial letter to Ireton, so generally known, and which Walpole calls a piece of "brave natural eloquence," is a specimen, and of which also the treatise in the second volume of Peck's *Desiderata*, is a larger and more valuable display. This last is chiefly dedicated to the government of the Isle of Man; and truly the clown who went to rule his island overcharged with vulgar proverbs, had wise and honest guides, in comparison with the Florentine principles with which Lord Derby seems so familiar. Great men have in all ages had their weaknesses: Sidney's euphuism, Addison's conviviality, Somers's amorousness, Bacon's foppery, Johnson's pomposity, we may smile at; but to find an honest and a religious man who could persuade himself to practise Machiavelli's precepts, moves nothing but sorrow. There is a humour, could we enjoy it, in the treatise, in the qualified application, which the earl's noble nature and high principles compelled, of the base instructions he was trying to carry out. The treatise is in parts a mere cento from *Il Principe* and the *Discorsi*, and no secret is made of it, for Machiavelli is referred to, and an Italian proverb quoted.

We will give a few examples. Lord Derby recommends his son not rashly to oppose the people, "but to comply with them, and defer the mat-

ter, making them believe you will forward their desires, by which you may take time to compass your own." And again: "Seem as if convinced by their reasons; by the next meeting, you may have underhand taken off some of their chief champions." When a man flattered him, the Earl says: "I made him believe I believed him, but I remember, though, his saying, that when you see one go by his usual path, look to him." "The people are sooner much compelled than persuaded." The somewhat inconsistent result of Machiavelli's finesse is adopted, verberibus et non ratione, or as it is said in *Il Principe*, è molto piu securo l'esser temuto che amato. "I made one good step in the business, which was to divide the faction, calling to mind the old proverb, Divide et impera." "I provided me of some informers who unexpectedly might mingle with the people." "These men followed their instructions pretty well, insinuating and getting a good belief of divers, by seeming to have the same opinion with them, and were as forward to rayle against the present government, and complayne of honest men in trust with me, as any of the rest. Thus the simple people who were misled, believed fervently that they spake as they did think." So far all was sufficiently blameable; but to make the proceedings quite characteristic, all this dishonesty was set in motion only to introduce to the Manks those to whom they would listen, in order, in conversation, to reconcile them to the government. The warning against a flattering servant is closely copied from the remarks in *Il Principe* on the subject. In weighing his spies' reports, the true religion, which influenced this great nobleman, breaks forth. "I will ruminate thereon, and ask counsaile of Almighty God, and pray His Spirit to give a right understanding to my heart."

Of the marriage of Charlotte de la Tremouille, there is a lively account in a little tract printed Venezia, 1632, (Osservazioni nel viaggio di D. Francesco Belli.)

The writer is at the Hague, and says, "Lo accasamento del Conte d'Arbi principalissimo Inglese con Madama figliuola della Duchessa della Tremoglia: intorno che non è da tacersi: che non volendo la Duchessa madre acconsentire per modo alcuno al matrimonio per una legge d'Inghilterra, la quale, morendo il marito, conciede la dote à parenti del morto; e stato bisogno, che la legge resti sospesa e invalida in caso tale." p. 95.

"Nell tempo della nostra dimora in Ago (the Hague) furono celebrate le nozze del Conte d'Arbi e di Madama della Tremoglia predetti, e invero con termini grandi per esser la sposa figliuola d'una sorella del Signor Principe d'Oranges, il convito segui la Sera: dopo 'l quale e un nobilissimo ballo fú

bella e gustosa curiosità il veder lo sualigio della sposa, usato trá loro: in virtú del quale tutti le rapivano qualche cosa gentile acconciata per cotal fine: —Se mo alcuni si servissero del pretesto, non per rapire ma per toccare; non voglio far considerazioni cosi sottili: Basta, che la povera Dama era attorniata, maneggiata, e fiutata, come i primi melloni, che vengono in mostra." p. 107.

Of the court at the Hague, in which Lady Strange was brought up, Belli says, "le dame vectono alla Francese, e tutte usono la maschera," p. 98. "Delle conversazioni de' Nobili sono capitalmente bandite le bestemmie, le parole oscene, i motti pungenti, e le punture maligne, i puntigli no, che per dama, ò per parzialita di nazione, ò per altra causa gentile sono prodighi del sangue, a sprezzatori della vita."

Notwithstanding this unpromising commencement, Lady Derby maintained through life the highest character. Digby writes to Hyde, January 4, 1645, (Rushworth,) "I staid a month at the Isle of Man, which time I cannot think misspent, having there received great civility from my Lord of Derby, and had the means of a particular acquaintance with his noble lady, whom I think one of the wisest and generousest persons that I have known of her sex." Clarendon says she was "of the most exemplary virtue and piety of her time." This unfortunate lady, after her husband's death, lived in great poverty, and, at the Restoration, endeavoured to bring those who sat on the court at Chester, and passed the sentence, to justice. The Lords seemed disposed to join in this undertaking, and also to avenge the deaths of Hamilton, Capel, and Holland, and bargained to be allowed to put one man to death for each lord; but the Commons slily expressed a loyal wish to mingle no blood with that of his majesty's murderers. Berkenhend, Dukenfield, Griffiths, Bradshaw, Alcock, and Croxton, who had been taken, were accordingly set at liberty. On the eighteenth of July, 1660, the dowager Lady Derby being a witness in her son's cause, the Lords order her "a chair to sit down, in regard of her age and quality." On the 24th of August this lady obtains an order to search for her goods and household stuff, "unjustly taken from her, in and since the late unhappy wars." That Clarendon, as speaker of the House of Lords, should have granted this, is worthy of notice. This illustrious lady died at the end of 1663.

Charles, the eighth earl, was born in 1627, and as William Lord Strange, his son, became mayor of Liverpool 1688, we fix this Charles's marriage about 1646. His wife was Dorothea Helena, daughter of John Kirkhoven of Hemflete in Holland, and of the Countess of Chesterfield.

Lady Derby was naturalized by act of parliament, before which she was required, 27th August, 1660, to attend the House of Lords and take the oaths, "kneeling at the end of the lord chancellor's woolsack, the House sitting, and the clerk of the crown reading the said oaths." After the earl's death, Borlase dedicates his book on Ireland to this countess.

The eighth earl took no part in the civil wars. As a boy he is mentioned by Rigby, accompanying his father, in 1642, to the gathering near Preston; and we conclude that he lived chiefly abroad. In 1651, however, he was with the great earl, and exerted himself to the utmost to save him. "He is gone to London," says the father, of the son, "with exceeding concern, and passion, for my good; he is changed much for the better, I thank God."

All accounts agree in the deep ruin which passed upon the fortunes of the Stanleys during the Protectorate. As the Irish affairs grew less active Liverpool became of decreasing importance, and in 1654 the necessity of continuing a garrison there was debated, and the Mersey fort dismantled. (Burton's *Diary*, pp. 78, 92, vol. i.)

April 10, 1655, Col. Gilbert Ireland, writes to the Protector, "Yesterday I received the government of Liverpool, wherein, as in all other trusts, I shall diligently wait for, and observe all your commands." He had a few days before, with his son-in-law, Aspinwall, been at Frodsham to examine Col. Werden in Halsall's matter as to Ascham's murder; this Halsall being possibly the person who served at the siege of Lathom, and wrote the diary. (Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 348, 359.) In 1656 Ireland is member for Lancashire, and assists Lord Derby in his petition, considered by the Commons committee both in 1656 and 1657. It appears also that this Earl, in the Parliament of 1653, had brought his necessities before the house, for Colonel Ireland moved that the act made in the Little Parliament (1653) for settling £500 per annum on the Earl of Derby be confirmed. "Major Brooke: This noble family is in the most distressed condition of any family in England, and if you do not confirm this they must go a begging. Lord Strickland gave a very fair character of the young Earl and seconded the motion." Lord Broghill and the Master of the Rolls speak of the great distress of the family. (Burton, vol. ii. p. 80.)

In Richard Cromwell's parliament (1658) Colonel Gilbert Ireland and Alderman Blackmore sate for Liverpool. April, 1659, this House of Commons yielded to the restoration of the surviving members of the Long Parliament, in which Liverpool was not represented.

August, 1659, Lord Derby headed an insurrection in Lancasbire, at the same time with Booth's in Cheshire; the Earl is stated to have neither money nor credit, and whether he was instrumental in Liverpool's momentarily declaring for the king, for it did not hold out even to surrender to Lambert, but yielded before his arrival, does not appear. Lord Derby being taken, and imprisoned, escaped; and from January, 1659, to April, 1660, corresponded with the king. (Kennett, Barwick.) Even before Charles's arrival in London, the attempt to recover the lost Stanley estates commenced. On the 23rd May, 1660, the Lords order that Lord Derby shall be put into present possession of his estates, which is, or was, in the hands of those persons to be secured, and their estates to be seized, for being the late king's judges. An act for the recovery of Hope, Mold, and Hawarden, in favour of Lord Derby, is read twice on June 13, 1660, (Lords,) and various orders are then made, to give the Earl possession of his estates, "not conveyed away by himself," and to prevent waste. The clause here inserted as to his own conveyances is the opening of the determined and successful opposition with which the Earl's attempts to recover his estates were met. A lengthened report on July 14, 1660, is on the Lords' journals, and the committee come to the conclusion, "there was force, and fraud in gaining the fine and other evidences," from Lord Derby. This refers to the estates in Wales above mentioned. An order is taken by the Earl, July 16th, like that given "other Peers, to be put in possession of the lands, wherein he hath not joined himself to pass them away."

In this parliament Lord Derby returned his brother William* for Liverpool, and Colonel, now Sir Gilbert Ireland, knight, was the other member, both in the Stanley interest. None of the bills, and these were three, for the relief of Lord Derby, passed the Commons in 1660. In 1661, Edward, the Earl's other brother, was returned for the county, and Liverpool elected the same members. On the 6th of February, 1661, the bill to restore Hope and Mold to Lord Derby passed the Lords, under a protest signed by the Chancellor and twenty-four Peers. This lengthy document merely addresses itself to the fact that Lord Derby had conveyed the property to others, but the committee of the preceding year had declared there had been force and fraud used, and this the protest did not notice. It was

*Then nineteen years old; he was born November, 1640. Edward was then two years older. Of this last there is an anecdote in James the second's memoirs, August, 1660, and his death is mentioned by Pepys, (vol i. p. 316.) It occurred from small pox at Portsmouth, 1664. William died, 1670.

evidently Clarendon's work, and thus objected to, Mr. Edward Stanley carried the bill, 10th of March, 1661, to the Commons, and by a MS. once in the possession of Speaker Bromley, we find February 25, 1661, that the Lower House heard counsel on Lord Derby's bill, that the Earl sate covered in a chair within the bar, and that Sir Orlando Bridgeman was admitted within the bar to give his testimony. It is evident that Seacome is wrong, in stating that Charles the second refused his assent to a bill unanimously passed by both houses to restore Lord Derby to the ancient family estates; but it does appear that the Chancellor resisted such an act being passed, and that it never was obtained; that the principle affected to be maintained by Clarendon, in this instance, was violated for others; thus, 15 Car. 2. (1663) there is "an act for making void certain conveyances, made by Carill, Lord Molyneux, in the late times." The whole transaction has a bearing upon the question of Clarendon's honesty, which renders further elucidation very desirable. The Derby family, unrequited sufferers from the civil wars, gradually became amongst the most bitter enemies of the Stuarts, and the Earl being a favoured suitor for Liverpool election favours, himself, his son, and son-in-law, serving the office of Mayor, that borough assisted the Stanleys in their opposition to the court.

For some time, however, the position of the Stanleys must have been sufficiently painful. The families of Trevor, (afterwards Lord Hampden,) Twisleton, Glyn, and others, enriched themselves by the purchases thus sanctioned, and a more disordered state of affairs than those at Lathom could hardly be imagined. The deeds and effects of the family were scattered in every direction, their houses in ruins; and to get rid of Birch's leases, more than one generation was required to pass away. Earl Charles had "a long pining sickness;" for his death, which took place 1672, and for some anecdotes of him, refer to Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, pp. 196–7.

The Stanleys had, at a very early period, vessels at Liverpool, thus, in the ballad of Lady Bessy, (1484,) Lord Stanley promises Elizabeth of York to send her messenger, Humphrey Brereton, to Henry VII:—

I have a gude shippe of mine owne
Shall carry Humfrey.
If any man aske whoes is the shippe?
Saye yt is the Earle's of Derbye.
Without all doubt at Liverpoole
He tooke shipping upon the sea.

The mention of Liverpool in one of the plans for the escape of Mary Queen of Scots, shows that others besides the Stanleys had then vessels at this port. The Moores were already puritans, and probably the Molyneuxes were acting with the conspirators.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE "NORRIS PAPERS."

We are indebted to J. Fletcher, Esq., of Allerton, for being enabled, from the Childwall Register, to render more exact our notice of the Norris family.

William Norris, who fell at Musselborough, 1547, died in his father's life and did not therefore possess Speke, and was never knighted, and was son to the Sir William Norris who was in Scotland in 1543. Sir William died February 1568, and his second wife, Anne, February 1563. Edward, who restored the family estates, and rebuilt, in part, Speke, died 21st May, 1606. Bridget Norris married Sir Thomas Bold of Bold, 9th April, 1607. Margaret married Edward Fleetwood, arm., 27th August, 1609. A younger brother of Thomas, who married Katherine Garway, William, died February 8th, 1682.

Thomas Norris married, 1695, Magdalene Aston of Aston. She died September 9, 1709. His brother Jonathan, whose fate we could not ascertain, died young, February 1, 1667. Richard, the principal collector of the Norris Papers, died August 18, 1730.

We now come to Dr. Edward Norris; and setting aside, as not to be relied on, the printed pedigree, and referring to the church register, to his long epitaph in Garston chapel, and to the inscription on his tomb in the chapel yard, and Ormerod's *Cheshire*, we shall endeavour to arrive at accurate information respecting the last of the Norrises of Speke.

Edward Norris M.D., and M.P. for Liverpool, married, at Chester, July 12, 1705, Anne Gerard, daughter and heiress of Peter Gerard of Crewood, (com. Cest.) They had three children born at Chester; Susannah, born 17th January, 1706, became the second wife of Hugh Williams, M.P. for

Anglesea, and she afterwards married Warburton of Penrhyn, and had by him one daughter, Anne Susannah, wife of Richard Pennant, sometime M.P. for Liverpool, and Lord Penrhyn. This lady was perhaps better known to the burgesses of Liverpool, by her great activity at elections, than even her four great uncles who were severally its representatives. Lady Penrhyn died June 1st, 1816.

Katherine Norris, the second child, was born December, 1708. She married, 1727, Ralph Leycester of Toft, who inherited, in right of his wife, a moiety of Crewood, and purchased the other part. He was born 1699, and died 1777. They had five sons and three daughters. The fourth son, Hugh, a Welsh judge, died 1836. Mrs. Leycester died in 1799, aged 90.

Thomas, the youngest child of Dr. Norris, was born November 8, 1712. It is important, in order to ascertain the fate of the Speke estate from Dr. Norris's death, July 22, 1726, aged 62, to 1736, when Mary, the daughter of the Doctor's eldest brother, possessed it, to know when this Thomas died. Anne Gerard, the only wife of Dr. Norris, (the pedigree assigns him two,) died January 3, 1729.

Of the family of Sir Thomas Johnson, to whom, above all others, Liverpool is indebted for its first emerging from obscurity, we are enabled by the kindness of his descendant, SPENCER STEERS, Esq., of Halewood, to give the following additional information.

Thomas Johnson, senior, took his freedom, it is important to remark, not by birth, but as late apprentice to Alderman Hodgson, 17 October, 1655. In October, 1659, Johnson became a councilman; 1663, Bailiff; 1670, Mayor; 1677, Charles the second's charter being newly procured, Johnson refused to take the oaths, and so retired from the council; in 1683, (7th November,) on a motion for his readmission, he was declared ineligible. On October 3, 1695, the charter of William III. having been just obtained, Johnson was nominated Mayor for the fifteen days before October 18, in the place of Alexander Norris; and Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Johnson, succeeded his father in the office. The elder Johnson died in August, 1700, and from his will we gather the extent of the Johnson relationship, and also the very considerable property which he had accumulated. Sir Thomas Johnson is not duly considered in this document. There had been two sons and three daughters; to Sir Thomas he leaves his house in Castle Street, and a legacy to Elizabeth, Lady Johnson, and also to

her five daughters, Elizabeth, Ann, Mary, Jane, and Ellen, but excepting bequeathing a tankard to the eldest, the two sons of Sir Thomas are not mentioned; they died at the same time, it is said, of small pox, and were buried at St. Nicholas's, on July 8, 1706. Only two of the daughters married, Ann and Jane, and the latter, who it is believed married in 1720 a Bootle, left no issue. Ann was the wife of Richard Gildart, M.P. for Liverpool from 1734 to 1754, and her descendants are now the representatives of Sir Thomas Johnson. The three sisters of the knight married, the eldest, Elizabeth, to James Barton, and afterwards to Jonas Kenyon, and was a widow in 1700, with a numerous family. Ann was the wife of Thomas Ball. Jane married Thomas Molyneux. Legacies from £400 to £100 are left to their families. A house in John Street is bequeathed to the Molyneuxes, and Johnson's own residence, Fenwick House, to Ann Ball. The legacies are charged on his house in Water Street, a purchased estate in Ford, (Orrel and Ford, a township of Sefton,) a property in Dale Street, leasehold under the Moores, (the modern Sir Thomas's Buildings,) and after discharging the sums left, these estates were to belong to Sir Thomas Johnson. There was a second son, Edmund, born in 1667, and to his widow forty shillings is left if she be living, and if dead, to be paid to her daughter, Second, (quere, Seacome?)

Old Johnson did not show much favour to his sons, and Sir Thomas is not even an executor; these were Thomas Sweeting, Gilbert Livesey, and Peter Hall. The first, whose name was given to a street, was connected with Middleham, in Yorkshire, and died 4th July, 1706, Livesey in 1711, and Hall in 1726. This Hall is called brother by Sir Thomas. In 1722, the knight accepted a custom house officer's place in America, and died (the *Historical Register* states, in Jamaica,) previously to May 1729, for on the seventh of that month, Litherland is elected councilman, "vice Sir Thomas Johnson, deceased."

There were two families of Johnsons in Liverpool but it is conjectured that Sir Thomas's father came there as an apprentice, about 1648. In the will he leaves to his nephew, Joshua Johnson, of Bedford, (parish of Leigh,) his wearing apparel, saving his alderman's gown. That township has always been remarkable for the quantity of small yeomen it contains, (Baines,) and these Johnsons might have migrated from thence. The name, however, existed in Liverpool from the middle of the sixteenth century; and from 1614 to 1623, William Johnson represented the town. The "Baly Johnson" of Moore was certainly Sir Thomas's father.

We alluded, (*Norris Papers*, p. 46.) to Sir John Moore, the mortgagee of the Bank Hall estates, and expressed a doubt whether in 1700, this well known Lord Mayor of London, the friend of two of the Norths, Dryden's Ziloah, the thoroughly unscrupulous partizan of the Stuarts, could still exist. We did not doubt his vanity, or his eagerness, (being, as Granger states, the son of a husbandman, at Appleby, in Leicestershire,) to connect his own with the ancient pedigree of the Liverpool Moores, but were not aware, until we accidentally met his epitaph in Le Neve, that he survived to his 82nd year, dying June 2, 1702.

The White Cross, (*Norris Papers*, p. 79,) stood where Old Hall and Juggler Streets meeting, intersect Chapel Street, and its site was long occupied as a market.

Thomas Brotherton, who represented Newton, and was returned for Liverpool by Alexander Norris, and who, besides being a most uncompromising Jacobite, was a person evidently looked up to in his day as a man of sense; this Brotherton, as we supposed, was of a family long seated in the parish of Winwick. There are two monuments in Winwick church to Brothertons; the first has this inscription: "Here lieth the body of Thomas Brotherton Esq., who departed this life January 11, 1701, in the 45th year of his age. He married Margaret, eldest daughter and one of the coheirs of Thomas Gunter, in the county of Berks, Esq., by whom he had issue three sons, Gunter, Thomas, and William, and three daughters, Margaret, Mary, and Gunter. He died very much lamented, having served his country with great fidelity, in three successive parliaments, in the reingn [sic] of King William the Third." Adjoining is another inscription: "Thomas Brotherton de Hey, B.D., ob. XI. Augusti MDCCLVII. ætatis LX." We are indebted to the Rev. T. J. WHITTINGTON of Winwick for the above.

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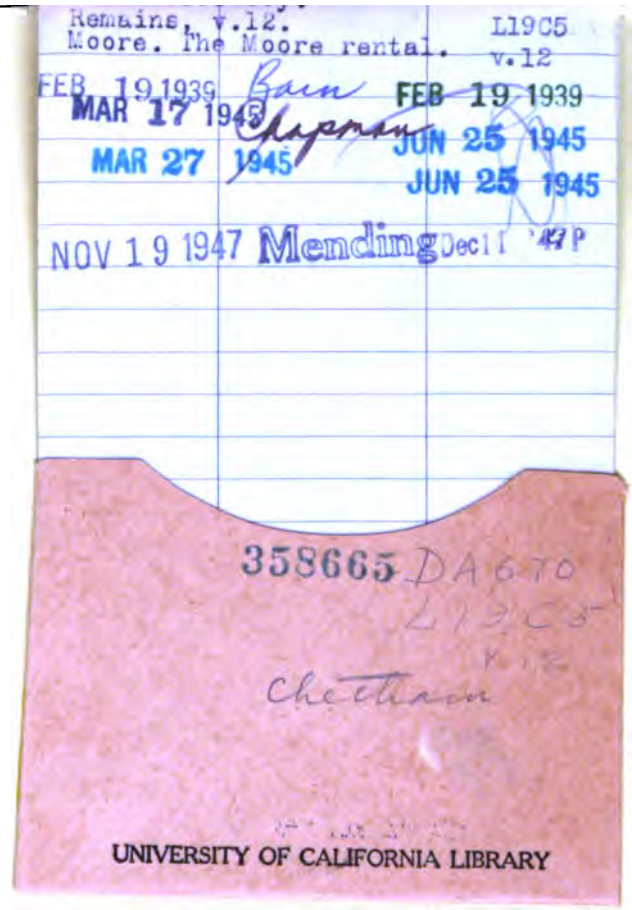
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